

HISTORY OF SWEDEN.



VOL. II.

THE
HISTORY OF SWEDEN.

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OF

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HISTORY OF SWEDEN.

Part II.

THE CATHOLIC PERIOD.

BOOK XII.

OF STEN STURE THE YOUNGER.

CHAPTER I.

SWANTE STURE.

LORD SWANTE STURE was not a descendant of the same family as the old Lord Sten. He was the son of the warrior Nils Sture already so often mentioned, who had adopted the name of Sture after his mother, for his father was Bo Stensson Natt och Dag, brother of that Nils Stensson who headed so many insurrections in the time of Charles VIII. By this means, Nils was cousin of Engelbrecht's murderer, Måns Bengtsson. These later Stures bore the Natt och Dag arms, while Sten Sture the elder bore, as has already been mentioned, three water lilies in his shield.

This Lord Swante Sture was distinguished for many good qualities. He was remarkable for bravery in war, and exacted the same of his followers, so that it became a proverbial saying, that whoever would be Lord Swante's courtier, like the old Harald Hildetand's warriors, must not blink for the descent of a battle-axe, though it grazed his eyebrow. If they had committed

any violence, or been guilty of offence, he broke into sharp and bitter reproaches; and as he spoke fast, and his voice was strong and deep, the people thought that it was as if the thunder rolled over their heads. In his violence, he often struck the offender with a heavy hand; but his wrath was quickly laid, and he then encouraged those he had rebuffed with gifts and kind looks, for Lord Swante was by nature generous and cheerful. Lies and slander was what he hated most of all. When any one came to him to speak ill of another, he caused the accused to be sought for, and confronting both, by this means prevented much treachery and many disturbances. He was also very pious, and easily moved, and was often seen to shed plentiful tears during divine service. For these qualities he was much beloved, and the nation willingly agreed to take such a man for their Administrator, particularly as he had gained much glory in war, and proved himself able stoutly to repel the power of the enemy, and protect the peace of the country.

Bold and brave as Lord Swante might be, as we have related, he could not be too much so for the unruly times in which he lived. King John made every effort to regain the kingdom, both by force and stratagem. Force Lord Swante was able to repel by his own bravery and the courage of the Swedes, but stratagem was less easy to resist. Many of the Swedish Lords were devoted to the Danish interests, and Archbishop Jacob Ulfsson, the Bishop of Westerås, Otto Swinhufvud, and the Senator Erik Trolle, did their best to forward King John's return. One meeting after another was held to this purpose, but in vain. In one, the above-mentioned Lords promised either to take John for their King, or pay him a yearly tribute from the country; but this ignominious proposal was indignantly rejected

by Lord Swante, who could not suffer Sweden to become a tributary kingdom under Denmark. John referred his case to the Emperor, who at that time desired to be a temporal judge of all Christendom, as the Pope was spiritual ruler. The Emperor summoned Lord Swante and the Swedish Senate before his bench, but these made equally light of his summons, saying that the Emperor had no authority in Sweden. The Emperor therefore laid the whole kingdom under the ban, and outlawed its chief lords and distinguished men; amongst whom Lord Sten Sture, the elder, was mentioned who had been dead three years; so little did the Emperor and his Council know of the state of affairs in Sweden. The Swedes on their side cared little about these letters and parchments, but did what they thought to be best.

Lord Swante was prudent and active in the government of his kingdom. In war he feared not to meet his enemies in the field, and in council he showed much wisdom. By these means he succeeded in concluding a peace for fifty years with the Russians, and an almost perpetual alliance with the Hanseatic towns, which gave him the greater power to resist the Danes.

He was also very fortunate in the choice of his friends and officers, and therefore had their powerful assistance in the country. Of these Sir Åke Johansson Natt och Dag and Hemming Gadd were two of the chief. The former met the enemy everywhere with dauntless courage and stout men at arms, and did the Danes so much injury that he was known by the name of "Denmark's Scourge." He was at last enticed into an ambush by a treacherous guide, where he and many of his people were cut to pieces in 1511, to the no small joy of both King John and his subjects.

But Hemming Gadd was a still stronger support.

He was a learned, eloquent, brave and dauntless man, never at a loss, and having experience in all things. He had been often in Rome in his youth, where for his great learning and abilities he stood in high favour with the Pope. On his return to Sweden, he became the old Lord Sten Sture's most faithful and active friend ; and when he was excommunicated by the Pope, travelled to Rome and had the sentence recalled. He was ever the irreconcilable enemy of the Danes, and spoke out his thoughts boldly at Diets, though there were many there who as he said, " bore Danish hearts under Swedish cloaks." For these reasons he was very dear to old Lord Sten, who got the Chapter of Linköping to elect him their Bishop ; but on account of the machinations of the Danes, he never gained the Pope's confirmation ; but on the contrary Hans Brask, afterwards so famous, became Bishop there, and Doctor Hemming was excommunicated. But he cared little for this rebuff, since he preferred attending to the affairs of state than to those of a Bishopric, and remained ever the one on whom Lord Swante could most depend, either as regarded negotiation or war.

Lord Swante's unquiet and restless Government was not of long duration. The Sala silver mine was lately discovered and gave a great return, which induced Lord Swante to visit Westerås, and hold a consultation regarding these concerns with the miners. The 2nd of January, 1512, he was apparently in perfect health when he sat at table, but shortly after he became deadly pale, and felt himself very ill. He got up to leave the room, but when he reached the door, he fell suddenly, and was dead. His page called to the miners : they came and carried Lord Swante in, but finding help was vain, they took a wise and bold determination to secure the Government for his son Sten. They shut the doors and

let no one come in, not even Lord Swante's wife, giving as a reason that they were occupied with matters of the utmost importance. They wrote letters in Lord Swante's name to the Governors of the Castles, demanding of them that "as he was himself prevented by sickness, they would during the time obey his son, the young Lord Sten, as their lawful commander, and hold their fortresses in reserve for him." This stratagem having succeeded, Lord Swante's death was made known, and the young Lord Sten who had come from Örebro immediately on the miners' summons, caused his father to be buried with great solemnity in the Sture vault in Westerås, where their ancestor Sir Nils Sture had chosen his grave.

CHAPTER II.

STEN STURE THE YOUNGER.

LORD STEN STURE, the Younger, was like his father, a very remarkable and distinguished man in many particulars. True and humble before God, honest and faithful towards man, prudent and sharp-sighted in council, brave and valiant in fight; he was, in addition, much milder, more friendly and kind-hearted than Lord Swante. When but a boy he was often seen to kneel with tears before his father to mollify him when his violent temper had broke out on some cowardly, false, or neglectful attendant, and thus he saved many from the severest punishment. He retained the same mild and conciliating disposition through life, and was in consequence sincerely loved by the people. But his best friends who were most devoted to him on account of these qualities, complained that the same gentleness, seduced him into a too confiding temper and too much lenity towards his enemies.

It might therefore appear as if it would have been an easy matter for Lord Sten to have become his father's successor in the Administratorship ; but it was not so. The chief nobility were envious of the Stures, and could not endure their family so long retaining the chief command in the State ; and the clergy was, as of old, devoted to the Danes. At a Diet in Arboga, the 19th of January, the elder nobles chose Lord Erik Trolle, a learned, experienced, and gentle old man, Administrator, but the younger nobles chose Sten Sture. No agreement could be made, and a new meeting was appointed for the 18th of May in Upsala. The old nobles, and the higher clergy remained in the town, and sided with Erik, while the peasants, burghers, and rest of the people collected on the King's Meadow just without the town, and paid homage to Lord Sten. Neither would give way. Both parties met for the third time in Stockholm, the 22nd of July. Sture and his people were masters of the town and Castle, while Trolle and his adherents had possession of Riddarholm, and it seemed as if an open rupture between them was inevitable. Finally, however, Trolle's party were obliged to give in ; Sture had the Castles, and the populace would not hear Erik Trolle even mentioned ; he was grandson of the unruly and detested Iwar Tott, and had great estates in Denmark, for which reason he was always suspected by the Swedes of being a Dane in heart, and therefore was most unpopular with the people.

The Stewards under Margaret and Erik XIII had long before founded a deep-rooted hatred for Danish Government in the hearts of the Swedish peasantry, which was increased by the exterminatory wars with which the Danish Kings, who desired to master Sweden, had always directed against the country. This senti-

ment had now reached that height, that whoever was even suspected of favouring the Danes was certain of being considered as a traitor; and all the misfortunes of the country, let their cause be what it might, were ascribed with one voice to that people, and the detested union.

When Sten Sture, in the manner we have just described, had become Administrator, he began to pay earnest attention to the affairs of the State in which he followed the example of the two Stures, his predecessors. He travelled continually through the country to ascertain for himself the condition of the people, and his ear as his heart were ever open to the complaints made to him by the lower class; for he was determined to protect all, learned as well as lay, high and low, that none might be said to suffer injustice during his Government. He looked upon himself without hypocrisy as the father of his people, and sought neither his own pleasure nor his own advantage; but sacrificed for the weal of the people, his time, his strength, and finally his life.

CHAPTER III.

GUSTAF TROLLE.

THE old Archbishop, Jacob Ulfsson, had laboured many years against the noble Stures, and sought to forward the interests of the King of Denmark. He thought himself now too old and weak to resist the young and active Lord Sten, and therefore resigning his office, retired to the stillness of private life. He, however, before proceeding thus far, arranged everything for the Chapter of Upsala, choosing Gustaf Trolle, son of the before-mentioned Erik Trolle, for his successor, and Jacob Ulfsson hoped that this

Gustaf, by the hatred he had inherited for the Stures, should become as serious an adversary to their interests as he himself had been. The consent of the Administrator to this election, was however required before it could be confirmed by the Pope, and this the generous and conciliating Sten Sture immediately gave. He did yet more; he sent two judges to Rome to gain the papal consent, and at the same time a large sum of money to Gustaf Trolle, together with a friendly letter of congratulation. His noble heart hoped that thus by mildness and good will he would overcome the hatred of the Trolle family, and gain the confidence and friendship of the new Archbishop.

Erik Trolle was a peaceable and quiet man, but his wife the Lady Ingeborg was both harsh and violent, and after her the young Gustaf took even from his childhood. When he was but a boy he was with his mother to leave Strängnäs and cross Lake Mälär, but he took it into his head that he would not be of the party, and his mother was unable to force him. Gustaf remained; the mother set out, was overtaken by a storm, and drowned with all her suite. Gustaf Trolle grew up a proud and ambitious, hard and revengeful, persevering and unbending man. He received Sten Sture's letter and Ambassadors without a token of gratitude. Soon after he received a large sum of money and a letter from the new King Christian in Denmark, in which the latter exhorted him to revenge the affront his father Sir Erik had suffered from Sten Sture. He was soon confirmed in his office by the Pope, and received letters patent exempting him from appearing before any Court but that of Rome to answer for the crimes he had already committed, or might in future commit. Thus provided, he commenced his journey to his native land. Lord Sten made great

preparations for his reception in Stockholm, intending thus by further kindness and good-will to nullify his proud antagonist's dispositions towards himself; but he, though he knew of Lord Sten's preparations, under pretext that they covered a trap laid for him, did not come to Stockholm at all, but sailed to Bishopstuna where he landed in 1515. And with him disquiet, uproar, and war entered his unfortunate country, which had now enjoyed three years of peace and safety under Lord Sten Sture's administration.

When Gustaf Trolle came to Upsala, he was solemnly received by the old Archbishop Jacob, and caused himself with uncommon pomp to be inaugurated in his office. The pomp and riches which the Bishops and higher clergy at this time displayed, surpasses all that we now can fancy. They were chiefly members of the greatest and wealthiest families of the nobility, and possessed much power and consideration besides. When in addition, they became possessed of Bishoprics with large and even princely revenues, the consideration in which they were held far surpassed that of all others. The Archbishop sat above the Administrator in the Senate, and the Bishops above all the lay nobles. They kept magnificent Courts in their large and well fortified Castles, where the youthful sons of the poor nobles served them in the capacity of pages and courtiers, and they travelled with so much state, that many edicts were requisite to restrain a Bishop's train, when he was on a journey, to thirty horses. These lords cared but little for the morals and improvement of their dioceses, little for learning and acquirement, little for temperance and pureness of living which would have beseeemed a follower of the Apostles. To meddle by artifice and force in the Government of the state, to organize and support rebellion, to increase their

revenues by lawful and unlawful means—these were their daily aim and objects; and while they did so, they displayed the greatest pomp and superfluity in buildings, clothes, food, servants, arms and horses, and besides this often concealed a licentious and disgraceful life, under an appearance of outward holiness and devotion. Such were the greater number of Bishops of that period—there was a wide difference between them and Egino, Saint Botwid, and the old Ansgarius.

Archbishop Gustaf Trolle, however, surpassed all his colleagues in ambition, pomp, and pride. Such a Court as his had never been held by any of the Archbishops, his predecessors, and it entirely outshone that of the modest Lord Sten in Stockholm. All those who hated or envied the Administrator collected round him as a leader, and thus the more increased his consequence. Little cared he or his friends for Lord Sten, neither did they seek to conceal the enmity they bore him. On his side he had again attempted a reconciliation with the Archbishop, and wrote him a friendly letter immediately after his arrival, calling him father, and inviting him to become godfather to a son then borne to him. But Gustaf Trolle despised this courtesy, did not go to Stockholm, continued his proud style of living, and held secret meetings with the discontented Lords for the recall of King Christian. Lord Sten's righteous anger was now excited, and he and his young and active counsellors desired to punish the Archbishop's arrogance; but the other prelates who feared civil war, sought by all means in their power to mediate a peace between them. They warned and exhorted Gustaf Trolle to more moderation and compliance, but they had little influence on his hard and haughty mind. On the other hand, Bishop Hans Brask warned the Administrator to govern his anger and reflect that it

was not himself alone who was concerned, but the quiet and peace of the whole country. Sten Sture's mild and gentle heart was moved by these reasons; he restrained his just displeasure, and so far overcame his reasonable dislike of Trolle, as once again to seek a friendly reconciliation. To that effect he went to Distinge in 1516, and in the Cathedral of Upsala presented himself to Trolle before the High Altar, congratulated him on his accession to the Archbishopric, and desired to bury all disputes and injuries in oblivion, and by a perfect reconciliation henceforth only to consider the weal of their mutual fatherland. But the proud and mean prelate answered these noble sentiments with contempt, mockery and bitter reproaches. Burning with virtuous indignation, Lord Sten immediately, and in the holy place where they were standing, refuted Trolle's accusations, and then returned to Stockholm whence he wrote to the Pope, and represented the Archbishop's evil and rebellious conduct. The Pope replied by warning Trolle and the whole Swedish clergy, "not to set themselves up contrary to temporal Government, but with humility attend to their own duties." However Gustaf Trolle heeded neither Pope nor Administrator.

In the month of July, Lord Sten summoned a Diet in Telje, and invited Trolle there to take his oath of fidelity, and his share in the consultations. Trolle did not attend, but continued his plots for Christian's being called in, which when Sten Sture heard, he determined to bring them to a summary conclusion. He surprised the Castle of Nyköping, where Sten Oxenstjerna was Governor, who soon fell ill and died in his prison, but on his death-bed revealed the conspiracy and named the parties concerned. Lord Sten then took the Castle of Stegeholm from the secret traitor, Per Turesson Bjelke, and imprisoned him and Sir

Erik Trolle. On hearing this, the Archbishop and his friends shut themselves up in Stäke, and fortified themselves there. Sture besought the old Jacob Ulfsson and the other Bishops to bend Trolle to seek forgiveness, but fruitlessly; he expected assistance from King Christian, and flattered himself that he was in perfect security at Stäke. The Castle was built in a lovely and fruitful tract of Malar, on a little island in the narrow Almare sound. It had been bought by some former Archbishop who chose to dwell there, and erected a strong Castle, which was enlarged and fortified by his successors, and had often served as a refuge for the actors in secret plots and open rebellion; but the Archbishops themselves called it St. Erik's Castle, wishing to give it a fame of sanctity by this name, which their own conduct could not procure for it.

Such was the strong Castle which Lord Sten Sture was determined to besiege; but being in want of arms and ammunition, he despatched a ship to bring him a supply from Lübeck. His step-mother, Lady Martha, who loved him not, secretly informed King Christian of this intention, who, on his side, sent orders to seize the vessel in the midst of a truce which then existed between him and the Administrator, and thus began the Danish war. Meanwhile Lord Sten commenced the siege of Stäke as well as he could, and at a new Diet at Arboga, 6th January, 1517, the irritated States declared "that they would never accept Christian for their Sovereign, who would certainly not keep his promises as King, when he could not keep his truce. They furthermore determined that the siege of Stäke should be carried on with all diligence, the Castle be razed to the ground, and the Archbishop degraded from his office."

When in consequence of this, the siege was carried

on with greater vigour, Trolle requested an interview with the Administrator. The young Gustaf Eriksson Wasa (afterwards Gustavus I), who had lately come to Lord Sten's Court, was meanwhile to be sent to Stäke as a hostage, and the Archbishop gave express commands that in case Sture's people should offer him any affront, the commandant was immediately to hang up the young Gustaf Wasa without the walls. Sture, meanwhile, and many of the Senators arrived at the hour fixed for the appointed interview, and had sat for two hours in the violent rain outside the Castle waiting for the Archbishop; when at last, not he, but his steward arrived, and announced that the Archbishop would not enter into treaty yet for six months. The reason of this change was, that news had reached him of a Danish fleet being just at hand to assist him.

The state of the case was this. After King Christian had broken the truce by the attack and taking of Sten Sture's ship, he clearly saw that it was in vain by cunning and underhand plots to seek to regain the Swedish Crown, and therefore determined to conquer it by force. The Archbishop of Lund issued an excommunication on Sten Sture and the Swedish Senate, because "they had violated Archbishop Trolle's rights, and would not accept their lawful King and Governor, Christian of Denmark." The King had this excommunication translated into Swedish, and distributed over the country; while in his own letters, he partly by threats, and partly by promises, sought to win the people. The Swedes, however, despised both the letters and the excommunication. Divine service was performed as before, and the people retained their former devotion to Lord Sten. King Christian's fleet, having four thousand men on board under the command of the valiant Captains, Severin Norrby and

Joachim Trolle, the Archbishop's uncle, arrived at Upsala where the Danes began to ravage the land as usual. Lord Sten speedily repulsed them, and now, for the last time, sent some of the Senators to Trolle, "praying and besecching him to have mercy on his unhappy country, and no longer protect its enemies." This was but speaking to deaf ears. Gustaf Trolle thought of his revenge and his pride, not upon the weal and glory of the land. Meanwhile the Danes had again made a descent on Dufwenäs, immediately beyond Stockholm. Sten Sture, accompanied by the young and valiant Gustaf Wasa, and a body of faithful soldiers, hastened thither, and beat the enemy, who, after great loss, were obliged to hurry on board their ships. They sailed back to Denmark, but left misery and devastation behind them, making descents on several parts of the coast, and burning town and country on their way home.

Sten Sture sent several of the Danish prisoners taken at Dufwenäs to the Archbishop to inform him of the unlucky issue of the Danish expedition. Trolle then offered to give up the Castle, provided he had free permission to leave it in security, and resume his office; but the Administrator answered, "that Gustaf Trolle ought to have made this offer long ago. Now that so much blood had flowed on his account, he could be considered but as a murderer and, above all, unfit for the sacred office of Bishop." A Diet was held in Stockholm 23d November, which the Archbishop attended under protection of a safe conduct; but he spoke in a proud and arrogant manner before the States. He declared "they were not his lawful judges, and said he would prove his innocence before the Holy Father in Rome who had entrusted him with both the spiritual and temporal sword, with which he sought to support

the fealty they had sworn to their Danish Sovereign. He was rather to be considered a traitor who had seduced them from it, and they ought to feel that they were all of them slaves of a scheming youth, who was sacrificing them to his own ambition."

The States were in the highest degree indignant at this contemptuous speech. They drew up, signed and sealed a parchment, in which they accused "Trolle of High Treason for having borne arms against his country." They degraded him from his office, and decreed that Stäke Castle, which had always been used by the Archbishops for the ruin of their country, should be razed to the ground. Every one was to be in readiness at the first summons to venture his life against the Danes. The common people were so embittered, and broke into so many hard and threatening words, that none of all Trolle's friends then present ventured to say a syllable in his defence, or claim exemption from sharing in his fate. But when the sly Bishop, Hans Brask of Linköping, was to place the great wax seal by his name, he, unremarked, slipped a little paper under it on which he had written these words: "*This I do by compulsion.*"

Trolle journeyed from the Diet back to Stäke; but his servants and followers, who feared irritating the people more at this time, soon forced him to give it up. When he was carried from his Castle to the Swedish camp, it was with difficulty that Sturð was able to save him from the enraged populace, who, in their fury, wanted to murder him. He was obliged with a solemn oath to resign his Archbishopric, and was confined in Westerås Cloister, whence he was farther obliged to write to the Chapter of Upsala to confirm his abdication, and beg them to choose a new Archbishop. At last he received permission to go home to his father's estate Ekholm, and remain there.

Such was, at this time, the termination of Gustaf Trolle's ambition, and he proved the truth of the proverb, which says, "Pride goes before a fall." The strong Castle of Stäke was immediately, on being made over to the Administrator, burnt and pulled down by the enraged peasantry. Its desolate remains were long seen on the little island near Almare Sound, but time has now covered them with moss and earth; green waving trees have everywhere sprung from amidst them, surrounding and covering the whole island, so that the wanderer can scarcely recognise a trace of the stronghold in which the once so mighty Archbishops of Sweden ruled with despotic sway.

CHAPTER IV.

OF CHRISTIAN THE TYRANT'S YOUTH.

WE must now make a pause in our history to relate something of the youth of King Christian II, already so often mentioned.

He had inherited a difficult temper from King John, who was often extraordinarily affected during his latter years, and sometimes even entirely out of his senses. Many strange things are also related of Christian's birth; that he came into the world with his hand firmly clenched and full of blood, and several similar stories. Once when his nurse had left him, a monkey belonging to the King, his father, took the little Prince and carried him to the outer roof of the Castle, and then back again without injury. He showed a hard and cruel temper during his earliest childhood. King John boarded him first with Hans, the Bookbinder, a respected citizen in the town; and while the Prince eat and slept there, a learned priest was to go there every day to instruct him; but Hans and his wife were soon weary of the unmanageable boy, and gave up the charge. He was

now sent to live entirely with the priest, who by all his exhortations and severe punishments could never bring the Prince to obedience and discretion. Christian showed in particular a passion for climbing up on the highest walls and roofs; his tutor warned him "that he who wants to climb the highest will fall the lowest;" but Christian answered, that "low places only suit low people, but high places were for the high." For this remark, the priest punished him severely; but as soon as he was gone, Christian recommenced his old pursuits. Afraid at last ever to leave him at home alone, the priest took him with him to Church for both matins and vespers, and then left him to stand amongst the other children like a choir boy. This was more, however, than King John could endure: who therefore sent for a learned German called Master Conrad, who succeeded in instructing the Prince so far that he was able to write Latin which was not common at that time. But he showed no great taste for study, and when he became a little older, he paid no attention to Master Conrad, but lived according to his own pleasures and tastes which were not good. There were many who took part with the future Sovereign in his excesses, seduced him into more, and helped him in their concealment, by which means they sought to gain his favour and profit by it. This company bribed the porters of the palace, so that they often remained out all night, rambling about the town, and bursting here and there into houses in which they acted many a violent, foolish, or ridiculous scene; but they chiefly frequented those places in which the best wine, and most entertainment were to be found, passing their time in every sort of excess. All this gave rise to a bad report concerning the Prince, which at last reached King John's ears. He called the young Prince to his presence, reproached him severely, and made him serious representations,

adding, besides, so expressive a punishment with his whip, that Christian, on his knees, was obliged to beg his father's forgiveness, and promise amendment in future. But King John put little trust either in these promises or the Prince Christian, whom he expected would become a vicious man.

During the violent struggles between King John and Sten Sture, the elder, the latter hit on the plan of exciting rebellion in Norway against the former. This was easily enough done, for the Norwegian nobles were oppressed by the Danes, and envied the freedom and independence of the Swedish nobility, whose success also incited them to imitation. A violent rebellion thus broke out, on which John sent Christian, who was then a youth of twenty, that he might have some occupation for his violent and restless temper in quelling it. Christian did this partly by artifice, partly by force, acting with both talent and activity, but with so much cruelty, that he almost entirely rooted out the chief nobility of the land. Some few escaped, and their descendants lived as peasants unremarked in the interior; but they always retained a precious remembrance of their high birth, and to this very day the traveller may occasionally see in the larger cottages amidst the Norwegian mountains, the peasant's whole genealogy, traced from St. Olof and Harald Hårfager, graved in the broad beams of the house. It was also at this time that Christian undertook the murderous expedition into Sweden, which we already described,* and by these events he had spread fear and terror of him throughout the North.

During the time that Prince Christian was in Norway, a woman of low and mean extraction, coarse and contemptible manners, but cunning, bold, and ambitious, lived at Bergen. Her name was Sigbrit, and

* Book XI, Chapter VI.

her country Holland, where she had kept a fruit-stall ; in Norway she kept an ale-house. She had brought her daughter with her, Dyvika, who was described by all as so beautiful and lovely, that her like was not to be found in the three northern kingdoms, and it was impossible to see her without being captivated. She had also a mild, tender, and good heart ; her morals were pure, and her fame spotless in the town. Archbishop Walkendorf of Trondheim, who was likewise Christian's Chancellor, chanced one day to see and speak to her in the street, and was quite transported by her charms. He described them in such rapturous terms to Prince Christian, that he night and day thought of nothing but the fair Hollander, and at last determined to take the long and dangerous journey all the way from Christiana to Bergen, merely to see this renowned beauty. A ball was prepared that very evening, and all the ladies of Bergen invited to it. Christian was immediately ravished by Dyvika's beauty ; however not to betray himself, he danced first with the lady who sat by her, and the second dance with her ; but this he renewed several times in the course of the evening, so that what he had in the beginning so carefully wished to conceal, soon became apparent to all. From this moment he was for ever hers. She and Sigbrit were obliged to accompany him to Christiana, where he caused a fine house to be built for them, and provided them from his palace with service, and whatever else they might stand in need of ; and this Christian, so hard and immoveable with others, was easily, by the fair Dyvika and the artful Sigbrit, led where they pleased. The people who had already imagined Sigbrit to be a wicked witch, now declared that by a love philter she had fascinated Christian, and bound him to Dyvika for ever.

CHAPTER V.

CHRISTIAN THE TYRANT'S GOVERNMENT.

ON the news of Prince Christian's harshness and cruelty, the Danish Senate hesitated if they should venture to take him for their King; for they much feared he would become a severe and independent master, and diminish their power and consideration. At this time almost every King in Europe was obliged at his coronation to sign a royal promise or charter in which the privileges of the Senate, the higher nobility, and the clergy were confirmed, and often extended, so that the King's authority was almost nothing; all riches and consequence were heaped on these mighty Lords, and the peasants were but their slaves. Such was the state of things in Denmark also, which as it favoured the pride and avarice of the Lords temporal and spiritual, they feared their young monarch might soon alter; but Christian had lived quietly and humbly during the latter years of his father's life, apparently quite altered in character, so that the Senate, deceived by these appearances, and willing to hope the best, after John's death in 1513, elected Christian as his successor, and he without the slightest observation signed the strict conditions they presented to him.

In the commencement of his reign Christian showed nothing of the cruel and hard temper which had been so much dreaded; on the contrary, he undertook many and useful reforms, for he was a wise and bold ruler as long as he was able to govern his cruelty and violence. But the inmost thought of his soul was how he could bend the power of the Senate and the proud nobility under him, and according to the example of several Sovereigns of this period, he sought to win his purpose by raising and improving the condition of the

oppressed peasantry, which won him their love ; and by assisting the burghers, and commerce out of the deep decline into which they had fallen. When Luther commenced the Reformation, he sought to introduce that new doctrine, that he might by it quell the too great power of the priests. By this means he irritated against him the powerful nobles ; the rich Hanseatic towns who had before possessed all the commerce of the North, and the now almost all-powerful Catholic clergy. None, however, ventured to resist him, for he acted with as much sagacity as vigour, and gave hope of becoming an excellent Sovereign ; but while he appeared to labour for the weal of the country and his subjects, his boundless ambition sought only his own glory. An evil and corrupted spirit dwelt in the bottom of his soul, which saw no distinction between deceit and honesty, right and wrong, crime and virtue ; but these evil qualities were yet awhile softened and restrained by the warm and sincere love he bore the beautiful Dyvika.

As soon as Christian had become King, he immediately had Sigbrit and Dyvika conveyed from Norway to Copenhagen, where he renewed his intercourse with these women. To increase his power, he married in 1515, Isabella, sister of the then all-powerful Emperor Charles V, and with her received the large sum of 300,000 goldens as her dowæ. When the marriage was determined, the Danish lords were obliged to engage for Christian that he would part from Dyvika ; but notwithstanding this, and though Isabella was herself of great and rare beauty, and of a mild and noble disposition, he retained Dyvika as before to the disgrace of his Young Queen, and the scandal of the Senate and all the kingdom.

But in the year 1517, Dyvika died suddenly of

poison it is said ; some thought by means of the Senate, others by Torbern Oxe. Christian was sorely afflicted at her loss, and this sorrow lighted in him a burning desire to revenge her death. His wrath turned first on Sir Torbern Oxe, who was a man of high birth, high standing, high consideration, great beauty, accomplished in every knightly exercise of the time, and Captain of the Palace. He had been himself quite captivated by Dyvika's beauty, and it was also said that she had favoured him much. This had always made Christian suspicious of him, and caused him now to accuse him as one who had "defiled his royal bed." The senate answered : "That Isabella and not Dyvika was the King's wife ; and that besides as nothing could be proved against Sir Torbern, no punishment could be awarded." This but incensed the enraged Monarch the more. "If," said he, "he had himself as many friends in the Senate as Sir Torbern had relations, their judgment would have fallen differently ; but," he added, "were Sir Torbern Oxe's neck as thick as an ox, he should lose his head notwithstanding." He now had twelve peasants brought in from the country, placed them within a circle of guards, brought Sir Torbern there, and renewed the accusation. The peasants on one hand could not perceive his guilt ; on the other they saw but too well the King's wrath, and their own danger. In their anguish they gave this answer, that "Not they, but Sir Torbern's own deeds judged him," which was sufficient for the blood-thirsty Christian. Sir Torbern's relations threw themselves with prayers and entreaties at the feet of the King ; but in vain. The whole of the nobility signed, and sent in a paper imploring pardon for the unfortunate ; but in vain. Arcimboldus, the Papal Legate, and the Senate implored for him ; but in vain. The noblest

and principal women in the town conducted by the Queen herself, at last went in a solemn and moving procession up to Christian, and on their knees implored mercy and forgiveness; but it was all in vain. On the following day the unfortunate man was without compassion beheaded.

From this time Christian gave himself up more and more to the indulgence of his cruel and violent temper. He was chiefly governed by Sigbrit, who after Dyvika's death gained greater influence than she had before with the King. Nothing was settled without consulting her, and her opinion was that which generally prevailed. She introduced several mean persons to the King's favour, especially one whom she particularly favoured, Didrik Slaghök, a Dutchman, who had formerly been a barber's apprentice, and was a relation of hers. The high nobility and the Senate were the objects of her rooted hatred, and she sought to humble them by all means in her power. During the winter, crowds of gentlemen and the King's highest officers were often seen collected before Sigbrit's house awaiting the King, and though they were drenched in rain, or obliged to wring their hands and stamp with their feet that they might not be stiffened with cold, none ventured to enter her doors to seek shelter. With such counsellors and his own disposition, Christian's cruelty increased from day to day.

Archbishop Walkendorf who had been the first to call his attention to Dyvika's beauty, had ventured to make him serious exhortations about sending her away after his marriage with Isabella. This Sigbrit could never forgive; he was persecuted and molested in every manner by the King's stewards, so that he was at last obliged to fly the country, and died in want and poverty in Rome. Christian demanded the Island of Born-

holm from the Archbishopric of Lund; the Archbishop refused to give up the property of his see, and sought refuge in a convent. On this Christian threw the Canons into a noxious dungeon, and forced them, not only to resign Bornholm, but much more of the episcopal property. He accused the powerful Knut Knutsson, of Norway of treason, who though declared innocent by both the Danish and Norwegian Senates, Christian had beheaded notwithstanding, and confiscated his property to his own use. Mogens Tomisson, a Danish noble, was accused of having been too severe with his peasantry. This Sir Mogens was already dead; but Christian without any trial or examination of the matter, caused the dead body to be dug up and hung on a gallows, to the terror and affront of the other nobles. In this manner he continued to indulge his ferocity, and was yet awhile sustained by the favour of the lower people, for these unreasonable on their side, rejoiced in the misfortunes even though unmerited of their envied oppressors: but even their hearts were gradually turned away from the blood-thirsty tyrant, till the dread of his power, and fear of his vengeance, alone kept the offended people within bounds.

CHAPTER VI.

STEN STURE AND CHRISTIAN THE TYRANT.

KING CHRISTIAN intended by no means to resign his pretensions to the Swedish crown, inherited from his father, and was not at all discouraged by the battle of Dufwenäs, and the unhappy result of the campaign of 1517. With the hope of better success himself, he arrived in 1518, at Whitsuntide, with a fleet within the Stockholm Skäres, making plundering descents here and there in which he was always repulsed with loss. Fi-

nally he landed the whole of his army on the Södermalm, pitched and fortified his camp there, and began to fire on the town and the southern tower. This gave him no advantage over the place: on the contrary, he lost many of his men; meanwhile he received news that Lord Sten with a large army was marching towards him through Södermanland, which made him determine to try his fortune in a pitched battle rather than suffer himself to be shut up between the town and the advancing army; he therefore marched out of the camp to the attack. Both armies met at Bräun Church. The Danes intended early on the morning of the 23rd of July to surprise the Swedes; but their intention having been remarked, they were received with great firmness, and a sharp engagement ensued between them. The brave Gustaf Wasa carried the chief Swedish standard, and Lord Sten himself headed and encouraged his people. At last the Danes being obliged to fly, some of them got entangled in a morass, and were there taken prisoners; others fell before the swords of the pursuers. Christian retired within his camp, intending to proceed with the siege of Stockholm; but Lord Sten marched triumphantly into it, and afterwards making one sally after another, always caused King Christian loss and annoyance. Meanwhile the summer was drawing to an end; the King gained no party in the country, his own troops were gradually melting away, provisions were growing scarce, and nothing was to be done against Stockholm; Christian therefore determined to sail home again. He broke up his camp to return to his ships, but Lord Sten who perceived his intention, made a sharp attack from the town on the retiring Danes, whose march soon turned to a precipitate flight. They leapt over bushes and hedges, and rushed towards their ships; but all did not succeed in reaching them. Many

were killed in the flight, others chased by the Swedes into the sea, perished there; and three hundred were taken prisoners and carried back to Stockholm in triumph by Lord Sten. Christian immediately ransomed them, got them on board his vessels, and now desired nothing so ardently as a safe return from this unhappy expedition.

But yet greater reverses were in store for him. A strong and constant contrary wind prevented him from getting out of the Sküres; his provisions were already exhausted, and hunger began to be felt in his fleet. He made an unexpected descent, pushed on as far as Upsala, burnt the town and surrounding villages, and got back to his fleet with the plunder he had acquired; but it was insufficient for so many, and was soon consumed. The wind remained steadily contrary; food again failed, and his people in despair began to abandon him for Lord Sten. He then had recourse to artifice, and sent Ambassadors to Stockholm to assure Lord Sten, "that he was ready to conclude a firm and lasting peace, and to that purpose only begged a truce, and invited Lord Sten to an interview on board his ship."

The generous Lord Sten heard these proposals with joy; he desired nothing more ardently than to gain rest and peace for the people, and did not take advantage of Christian's misfortunes to his utter destruction, but thought in his purity and greatness of mind to win his enemy by mildness and generosity. He therefore granted him the truce he desired; and as he well knew the famine the fleet was suffering, he sent them cattle and all sorts of provisions so that they were once more supplied with necessities. He desired to go on board the fleet to the interview Christian had proposed; but his friends and the Senate set themselves against it, representing to him how little reliance was to

be placed in the King's promises. The open-hearted and honest Lord Sten was however not to be persuaded to believe such a meanness possible, but persisted in his intention of going. The Senate then declared, "that should Lord Sten insist on going to Christian, they intended immediately to choose a new Administrator, for they were certain that they would never get him back again out of the King's hands." On this he was advised to remain in Stockholm.

Christian now offered himself to visit Lord Sten instead, if he got six Swedish gentlemen as hostages on board his fleet. This proposal was accepted, and six Swedish nobles offered themselves of their own free will, among whom were Hemming Gadd, Gustavus Eriksson Wasa, Eric Ryning and Lars Siggesson Sparre. Some Danish gentlemen were in return to be left in Stockholm; and it was agreed that these hostages should be exchanged at a small promontory called King's-Haven. Meanwhile the wind had changed, and with the wind King Christian's intentions. He had received provisions sufficient from Lord Sten, the weather was favourable, and nothing prevented his return. But not enough that he should so faithlessly break the negotiations for peace he had already entered upon: he returned Lord Sten's generosity and confidence by a yet more disgraceful treachery. He sent a boat manned by a hundred men to Kings-Haven, where they lay concealed behind the cape, or some of the small islands, and as the Swedish boat came up to make a peaceable exchange, the Danes rowed forward, seized the Swedish Lords, and rejoined the Danish fleet, where the hostages were immediately laid in irons. After this villany, King Christian hoisted his sails with joy and returned to Denmark. His troubles were passed, and he would now no longer hear the peace spoken of which he had

before so earnestly demanded. He commanded his Admiral, Severin Norrby, to ravage the Swedish coasts on every side; and war with all its terrible consequences burst out once more between the unfortunate nations.

CHAPTER VII.

ARCIMBOLDUS, THE PARDON-MONGER.

It was at this period that the Popes were carrying their sale of indulgences to the greatest excess. They pretended that the good works which a saint had done beyond what was necessary for his own salvation, were the Pope's property, and could be used by him at his pleasure. Thus, when any one had committed an evil action, or led an evil life, he could, they said, from the Pope or his delegate buy an indulgence, which ran thus : " I deliver thee first from all the chastisement of the Church, which thou canst have deserved; then from all the sins and failings which thou mayest hitherto have committed, how great soever they may be, and acquit thee of all the punishment thou hast deserved to suffer in Purgatory for thy sins. I make thee again a participant in the sacraments of the Church, and restore thee to the same state of innocence in which thou wert after thy baptism; so that the gates of hell shall be shut to thee, and the doors of Paradise stand open," and so on.

Indulgences were often sold for future sins, and a hardened and mocking robber once murdered and plundered the monk from whom he had just bought a similar permission, excusing himself on the pretence that the crime was already forgiven him. The ignorant and blinded multitude meanwhile believed what the Pope said, and were most eager to acquire these licenses. High and low, rich and poor, all bought

as much as they were able, thinking they could not too dearly purchase the salvation of their souls. The Popes on the other hand, who by prodigality, pomp or avarice, were in continual want of money, profited in the most shameful way by the superstition of the people.

In the beginning, indulgences were held dear, so that it was the rich alone who could be saved in this manner; but the avaricious Pardon-mongers afterwards reduced their prices to suit their purchasers, so that they might plunder the poor, and scrape together as much money as possible; and so the store of good works which the Holy Father possessed to dispose of, never came to an end. Pardon-mongers had been before in Sweden, and carried great sums of money out of it; besides which, the Pope also, by Peter's penny, the fee for the Bishop's letters of nomination, and many other inventions, drew immense sums of gold and silver. In this manner the South, by cunning and artifice, regained the vast riches of which it had been plundered by the North in the days of the old Vikings. This shameless, unconscionable and impious sale of indulgences, was, however, that which brought about the disgrace and fall of the papal power.

Leo X, who at this time filled the pontifical chair, was a Prince who loved pleasure and pomp much, and economy little. He was in continual want of money, and therefore sent his Legate, Arcimboldus, to sell his indulgences in the North. When the latter reached Denmark, he was obliged to pay Christian 1,100 guldens for permission to carry on his commerce; however, Christian sought to win him to his party by great promises, begged his assistance in Sweden, and revealed to him his secret machinations regarding that country. Arcimboldus did begin to act

in favour of King Christian in Sweden ; but the Administrator soon found means to bring him to other ideas. He received the proud prelate with humility and friendliness, bought indulgences of him for great sums of money, and the rest of the Swedes, high and low, followed his example ; he made him besides the present of a table of solid silver, and offered him finally the Archbishop's vacant chair in Upsala, which Arcimboldus, if he pleased, had the option of tending by a vicar, and dwelling himself in a southern and milder climate. The greedy and ambitious prelate flattered and bribed by all this, could no longer shut his eyes to the just cause of the Swedes, and revealed Christian's plots to the Senate. At a Diet held at Arboga, in December 1518, in which Gustaf Trolle again resigned the Archbishopric, the whole proceedings regarding him were approved and confirmed by Arcimboldus. He wrote to the Pope defending the cause of the Swedes, and laid the blame of the disorders which had taken place on Trolle and King Christian. But this was labour lost, for Christian had been beforehand with the Pope. He was brother-in-law to Charles V, and therefore the Pope not venturing to offend him, fully confirmed the excommunication which Christian, through his Archbishop, had pronounced against Sweden.

Arcimboldus' journey had a miserable termination. He sent his brother Antonello, with a great part of the money he had raised, back to Rome, but he was detained and deprived of his riches in Denmark. Christian had discovered the Legate's duplicity, and therefore caused a monk to be seized and drowned, who had been selling indulgences in Gothland on his account. He painted Arcimboldus in such black colours in Rome, that he fell into complete disgrace

with the Pope, and further, he intended to seize and severely punish him on his way back. Arcimboldus, however, received information of this, and contrived to make his escape secretly to Lübeck, whence in long and detailed letters, he sought to justify himself both with the Pope and King Christian, but without effect. He was obliged to part with his treasures to ransom his imprisoned brother; and plundered and despised, thus finished his expedition.

CHAPTER VIII.

STEN STURE'S DEATH.

KING CHRISTIAN was still disinclined to renounce his pretensions to Sweden; but both his campaigns had dearly taught him that its conquest required a much greater force than he had hitherto employed. He now, therefore, commenced his preparations on a much larger scale than before, and employed the whole year 1519 upon them. To the same ends he sought to increase his revenues by every possible means. Charles V was required to pay great sums on his sister's dowry; the fruits of Arcimboldus' sale of indulgences proved a welcome addition. New and oppressive taxes were laid on, both in Denmark and Norway; every one, laymen as well as clerk, was to pay a tenth of his income, and in addition, a separate sum for every animal in his farm-yard, in which even hens and geese were included, the same tax, which formerly under Margaret, was now also called the Tail-tax by the peasants. He further filled his coffers by adjudging to himself large fines, against the law and old usage; and moreover, often confiscated to himself the property of the accused. All this ill-gotten treasure was spent in preparation against

Sweden. It was not sufficient for him that he had summoned the flower of the Norwegian and Danish men at arms, he got two thousand infantry from his ally, Francis I of France, and six cannons, under the commands of De Bréze and De la Valle. Duke Fredrick of Holstein sent him a large body of Holsteiners and Mecklenburghers. He took into his pay four thousand German soldiers; and in addition several bodies of Prussian and Scotch mercenaries, the greater part of whom were brave and accustomed to war. Their captains were experienced and renowned throughout Europe, and at the report of Christian's great preparations, had hastened to him, seeking fame and fortune in this campaign. He sought to strengthen his causes by alliances with foreign Princes, and got the Hanseatic towns to promise him not to supply Sweden with provisions for two years. To further his cause by an appearance of justice in his proceeding, he induced the Pope to name him as the power who was to execute the sentence pronounced against Sten Sture and Sweden. The excommunication declared, that, "until the kingdom had become reconciled to the Pope, the Churches should be closed, no service permitted, and none but the clerks allowed to attend the Holy Mass; children only might be baptized, but no corpse interred, no marriage solemnised, and no dying person consoled and refreshed by the Holy Sacraments. The very air was impure, and the kingdom an abomination on the face of the earth, a prey cast out to be spoiled by whoever pleased." Lord Sten Sture and his followers were pronounced to be "stiff-necked heretics, who ought to be rooted out by fire and sword."

Thus furnished with both temporal and spiritual power, Christian commenced his campaign against for-

lorn and abandoned Sweden. He chose the winter season, when the frozen lakes and morasses offered him easier roads in that otherwise almost impenetrable country; and in January, 1520, the whole Danish army burst over the frontier of Snåland under the command of Sir Otto Krumpe.

Lord Sten Sture had only the Swedish peasantry to oppose to these great preparations—their strength and bravery, their hatred of foreign rule and oppression, their invincible fidelity and burning devotion to the Administrator, and to the holy cause of freedom and country. On these few but firm pillars, Lord Sten founded his hope, and feared not the dangerous enemy. He marched down towards the frontier at the head of ten thousand peasants, breaking down the bridges, and piling up huge barricades of trees in the narrow passes to hinder the further progress of the enemy. The armies met near Bogesund, the town now called Ulricehamn. Here Lord Sten marshalled his men on Lake Åsund, cut the ice on either side, and piled up barricades on the banks that his army might not be attacked in the rear. He mounted his war-horse, which was of a light colour, and accustomed in the battle to bite and lash out round him, and thus take his part in the attack. On this animal rode Sten Sture at the head of his troop, marshalling and encouraging his men, and looking steadily but without fear on the advancing Danes.

Meanwhile, one of Sten Sture's servants had deserted to the enemy, and pointed out to them where his former master rode, for he was easily recognised by his light horse. Krumpe immediately had some falconets advanced, and ordered them to be pointed at the head of the troops where Lord Sten was. He was speedily obeyed; they were fired, and at the third

discharge, a ball struck against the ice, and then passed through Sten Sture's thigh and the body of his horse, which brought them down headlong. At this unlucky shot, some Swedes rushed forward and drew their beloved leader from under the dead charger, and carried him out of the crowd; but this misfortune damped their hope and courage. Twice they drove back the attack of the enemy; but they yielded to the third and began to fly. None had courage, none had consequence enough to present himself as their leader, collect the scattered troops and bring them back to the fight. The whole body confused, discouraged, and without a commander, were scattered and dispersed. Every one hastened back to his own home, leaving the enemy a road open into the fruitful West Gothland.

Sir Otto Krumpe put his advantage to profit, and hastened onwards as fast as he was able. On the 1st of February, he was stopped at Ramundeboda by the Swedes who had summoned courage, and there manned a barricade which Lord Sten had thrown up before; and they seemed determined to make a stout resistance. Krumpe ordered the French auxiliaries to make the first attack, but they were so valiantly received, that one of their captains, the brave Jacques de la Valle, and half of their troop were cut down, and the attack failed of success. Then came Erik Abrahamson Lejonhufwud who betrayed his country, and showed the Danes another way round the barricade. The Swedes found themselves unexpectedly surrounded, suffered great loss, and by their flight left the road open for the victorious enemy. These spread through Nerike and Westmanland, nailed the Pope's brevet of excommunication to the Church doors, broke into the houses with murder, fire, and sword, and spread rage, horror and terror throughout the land.

Sten Sture had meanwhile been carried in a sledge from this unfortunate field towards the north; but his wound grew worse and worse; the leg swelled and threatened mortification. In the midst of his sufferings, care for the fate of Sweden was his chief thought. He had before arranged the barricade, and the resistance the Danes had met with; he now feared that Gustaf Trolle and his party would go over to the enemy, and therefore sent Bishop Matthias, of Strängnäs, to Trolle, to make terms between them both. The Ex-Archbishop received him very graciously, and promised "that far from assisting King Christian, it would be his greatest care to resist him." Rejoiced at this promise, Lord Sten hastened on towards Stockholm to make preparations for its defence; he was conveyed in a sledge over the frozen waters of Lake Mälär from Strängnäs to the capital, but this noble knight died on the way, leaving the kingdom in sorrow, consternation and distress. His body was carried to Stockholm, where his wife, Lady Christina Gyllenstjerna then was. As the Danes were already in possession of Westerås, in which his family vault was situated, Christina had him buried in the Franciscan Convent or Riddarholm Church, and it may be well said that his noble and exalted courage, his honourable and unspotted conduct, his mild and Christian virtues, his love and faithfulness to his native land, even in the hour of death, had fully earned for him a resting-place in that temple amidst Sweden's Kings and greatest men.

CHAPTER IX.

CHRISTINA GYLLENSTJERNA.

AFTER Lord Sten's death, it seemed as if no resistance could be offered to the Danes. The great Lords

met together, some in one place, and some in another, to choose a head for the Government. Sir Ture Jönsson Roos spoke much of himself as the one most fit for this high office; but neither the Lords nor the people could agree with him in this persuasion. Some were ready to fight for Lord Sten's son; but a child of six years old was not a suitable chief in such times as those. At last both the nobles and peasants collected at Elgsund in Södermanland to oppose the Danes; but when these approached, a dispute arose between the Lords, who could not agree as to the command, and the whole army dispersed and melted away. Bishop Matthias Lilje, of Strängnäs, had been Sten Sture's Chancellor, and was a mild and well-meaning man, as well as sincerely devoted to his country's cause. The Lords collected at his palace the following night, and to prevent useless bloodshed, as they would find difficulty in making any regular resistance to the Danes, appointed Bishop Matthias their Ambassador to Otto Krumpe, who concluded with him a truce of eleven days. A Diet was held in Upsala, in which Gustaf Trolle appeared before the Archbishop, and persuaded the Lords to accept Christian, on which condition Krumpe promised in the King's name "a full pardon for the past, as well as to assure to each class its privileges and property; and the envious and avaricious Lords, who notwithstanding, put a simple trust in Christian's promises, divided in fancy the provinces and employments in the land amongst themselves.

It now appeared as if Christian had gained his object, but much yet remained behind. The Ambassadors who brought to Stockholm the news of these negotiations, returned with answer that the Lady Christina would by no means pay homage to King Christian. Gustaf Trolle advanced in wrath with five thousand

men to quell this presumptuous woman ; but his *avant couriers* found the Norrbro (North Bridge) broken down, the town well fortified, and were besides saluted by sharp-shooting from the walls, so that he was obliged to return with his mission unaccomplished.

The wife of Sten Sture, the younger, was Christina Gyllenstjerna, daughter of Nils Gyllenstjerna of Fogelwik and Sigrid Banér. She was a woman of wisdom and prudence, and moreover active, intrepid, and high-hearted, for which reasons the people placed much reliance in her. She alone did not lose courage, when all others despaired of their country's cause. On the news of Lord Sten's death, she hastened to Stockholm and superintended all that was requisite for its defence. She lost at this time one of her infant sons ; but this double sorrow was not capable of overcoming her strong spirit. The fortifications were improved, powder and ammunition provided, armed ships placed round the town, soldiers were paid and appointed under certain burgher-leaders ; all were encouraged by her words and her presents, and the citizens unanimously promised, with a solemn oath, to defend the city, to the last man, against the foe. Even from foreign Princes and people did this resolute woman seek help. She sent one son under a safe escort to Poland, and treated with King Sigismund I. regarding a supply of auxiliaries. She received similar aid from Lübeck, under the guidance of a brave Westphalian called Stephen Sasse. She wrote the most earnest and moving letters to the Swedish Lords, exhorting them to unity, courage, and resolution, and implored them above all to choose a brave and able man for their Administrator. Thus stood this heroic woman, a powerful support to a sinking State, like an immoveable rock against the attempts of the enemy. She did not suffer

herself to be fooled by deceitful promises, she despised flattery, and defied force within the well-fortified walls of Stockholm.

Her courage and her success instilled new life and strength into the discouraged Swedes. When the peasants heard that Sture's widow so valiantly defended herself in Stockholm, they began to rise on every side. They collected in great bodies, chose the tallest and strongest as their leaders, and surprised and cut down the Danes wherever they met them. The East Gothlanders besieged Bishop Brask, who had paid homage to Christian. The natives of Nerike seized the treacherous Erik Lejonhufwud. The Westmanlanders imprisoned Bishop Otto Swinhufwud in Westerås, and made a great slaughter of the Danes at Badelundsås, and the Södermanlanders disquieted the Danes and Bishop Matthias in Strängnäs. But the most severe battle took place in Upsala. A great body of peasants collected there, and on Good Friday, 1520, attacked the Danish army which lay without the town. The weather was most favourable for the peasants, for snow and sleet driven by a violent wind, beat in the eyes of the Danes, preventing them from using their guns; and the snow, which was soft, clotted in great balls under their horses' hoofs, so that man and horse came rolling to the ground, and the cavalry soon became useless. The peasants with the wind on their backs, with arrows, clubs, and axes, made great havoc amongst the Danes; forced them to fly, and would have entirely destroyed them had they had any suitable leader; but unfortunately this not being the case, they had neither order, discipline, nor any one among themselves whose commands they would obey. As soon as the Danes began to fly, the peasants dispersed to plunder, and a small body alone remained in pursuit of the enemy. At this

juncture, an old Danish warrior rushed forward, plucked the banner from the half-frozen and terrified ensign, bound it to a tree, and shouted to his comrades, that they should defend their colours. This stopped the Danes in their flight, and a violent combat ensued round the tree. The Swedes, few in number and in disorder, were soon obliged to give way. The Danes encouraged by their success, and by Gustaf Trolle, rallied, fell into order, and in their turn attacked the Swedes, amongst whom they now made a pitiable slaughter. Many were cut down, others driven into Fyris river and drowned, a great body burnt in a brick kiln, so that the loss of the peasants amounted to several thousand men.

In the month of May, King Christian arrived with a strong army, and shut in Stockholm on the sea-side, while by land it was besieged by two armies, one at each suburb. Bribery was joined to force; he had brought large store of salt and herring with him, which he distributed among the peasants who joined him; Bishop Matthias, as the faithful and most active friend of the enemy, travelled about the country in every direction seeking to turn the hearts of the people to the King. But all this was in vain. Stockholm was abundantly supplied with provisions; its citizens were devoted to Christina to the death; and all Christian's attempts were repulsed by firm walls and faithful hearts. In the country the people could not be persuaded to remain quiet, they continued their destructive skirmishes with the Danes, and many gentlemen who had been Sture's friends, gathering courage from this state of things, began to assist the peasants. Sir Johan Månsson Natt och Dag in Calmar, Bishop Arwid Kurk in Åbo, Nils Banér and Måns Jonsson of Westerås, annoyed the Danes to the utmost of their ability; in this

way the summer passed, provisions were consumed, and nothing accomplished. Christian was mad with rage. He succeeded in surprising the Castle of Westerås, but this misfortune was insufficient to discourage the Swedes, and he was obliged to lie yet two months more before Stockholm unoccupied. He cursed this unhappy war, and would have returned, had not shame, and the thirst for revenge withheld him.

In this uncertainty he was counselled to send some of the Swedish Lords into Stockholm, who, knowing the people and their manner of thinking, would find it easier to persuade them to surrender. This counsel pleased Christian well, who named Bishop Matthias, Sir Erik Ryning and Hemming Gadd. This last, formerly the most faithful friend of the Stures, and defender of Sweden, had during the two years of his imprisonment gone over to the Danes. The weak old man, who was now more than eighty years of age, had been unable to resist the power, craft, and temptations of King Christian. These messengers were heard with anger by the faithful burghers, and Peter Fredag, a rash young Swedish captain, was kept with difficulty from killing the old Doctor Hemming, in his indignation, on the spot. But at length the messengers succeeded in gaining some of the nobles, and even some of the citizens, to their side, and this party gradually increased. When Christina heard that treason had entered the town, she perceived how difficult it would be to defend it longer, and therefore determined to capitulate with Christian. In the commencement of September, peace was concluded, and on these conditions : Christina and her party were to recognise Christian as King and give up the Castle of Stockholm to him ; Christian, on the other hand, promising a general oblivion of past and present disputes. The injuries

Gustaf Trolle, Otto Swinhufwud, and several others had suffered from Sture, were never to be punished, nor even mentioned; and he afterwards separately promised that all complaints he might have against the partizans of Sture, should be forgotten. Christina was to retain her husband's estates and fiefs, and the King become for every member of her family, not only a lenient Sovereign, but a father. These, and many similar promises, Christian confirmed by his hand and seal, and the most sacred oaths.

Thus at last the gates of Stockholm were opened to the expectant monarch. The 7th September, when everything within the town was ready for his solemn reception, both the Burgomasters came out as far as the southern suburb, and delivered up the keys of the town; on which, in the centre of a thousand horsemen and two thousand infantry, he made his entry. The procession proceeded first to the High Church where the King heard mass, and received the benediction, and afterwards to the Castle, which was given into his hands; finally, he was conducted to Gregorius Holst, a very rich burgher, and devoted to his interests, who had prepared a sumptuous entertainment for the occasion, and the town was to wear the appearance of joy only and festivity. But on the day following, the citizens perceived with terror, how two gallows were erected, the one on the Great Square (*Stor torget*), the other on the Corn Market. The brave Måns Jönsson, commandant of Westerås Castle, was tortured in an unmerciful manner, and afterwards hung on the Great Square; he had notwithstanding been included in the capitulation which Christina had entered into with Christian, and the Swedes therefore contemplated with dismay the first proof of their new Sovereign's cruelty and treachery. He how-

ever still showed himself mild and friendly towards others. He promised the Lords the fiefs and advantages they asked for, and made it his particular business to gain the good-will of the burghers. He continued to bribe them with salt and herring; and told them on all occasions that the mischief and disquiet in Sweden had arisen from the ambition of the great Lords, their stubbornness and licence. By these speeches, which were not utterly without foundation, he prepared the peasants, and as it were, sought to win their approbation of the dreadful invasion he had projected. Meanwhile Bishop Matthias resumed his journeys in Christian's interests through the country; and Hemming Gadd was sent to Finland for the same reason; but Christian himself returned to Denmark to consult with his confidants how he ought to proceed with Sweden having now got it in his hands. He wished for the future to make it a subservient and tributary kingdom under Denmark as Norway afterwards became; but its proud and warlike people could by no means be forced to this, while they had their equally proud and warlike nobles to head them. It was therefore determined that for future security the chief nobles in Sweden, to whatever party they belonged, should be murdered and the order crushed; and with this determination Christian returned to Sweden on the 20th of October to celebrate his coronation.

CHAPTER X.

STOCKHOLM'S BLOODBATH.

A GENERAL Diet of all ranks was now summoned in Sweden to be present at the King's coronation, which took place on the 4th of November 1520, in the High Church. It was solemnized by Gustaf Trolle and the

other Swedish Bishops ; but to the surprise of all, the regalia was carried not by Swedish but by Danish Lords, in this order: Sir Otto Krumpe bore the Crown, Severin Norrby the Sceptre, Henrick Göe the Apple, and Jürgen Pogewisk the Sword. Christian renewed his royal oath and his former promises, and afterwards received the sacrament as a confirmation of the same. After the coronation was concluded, he arose and seated himself in a chair before the High Altar, and the ceremony of knighting, according to ancient usage, ensued ; but the expectations of those were deceived who thought to see the same honour bestowed on the Swedish gentlemen. Otto Krumpe, Severin Norrby, Nils Lycke, and some other Danes were called forth and dubbed knights with all solemnity ; but no single Swede was seen amongst them. When this ceremony was concluded, a herald presented himself and proclaimed with a loud voice that “because Sweden was won by the sword, no Swede could have deserved the honour of knight-hood, but that the King would bear them in memory hereafter if they remained valiant and true.” After this the King arose and leant against the High Altar with one arm, when John Suckot, the Emperor’s deputy, stepped before him, hung a heavy gold chain round his neck, and made a speech in Latin in which, in the Emperor’s name, he declared Christian a Knight of the Golden Fleece, and a member of the Burgundian Confederacy, promising the assistance of these allied Princes in whatever case it might be required. After the conclusion of these solemnities, the whole company proceeded to the palace, in which a great entertainment was prepared. It lasted three days with much pomp and appearance of joy ; for the King showed himself gracious towards the Swedes, as if he wanted to make up for the disgrace they had suffered at his coronation.

But under this hypocritical veil, he concealed sentiments very different from mercy and favour; he held counsel with his most intimate confidants, Didrik Slaghök, Nils Lycke, Jöns Beldenack, and several others. It was soon settled between them that now was the time to annihilate the Swedish nobility when they had them almost in their power, and Bishop Otto Swinhufwud had already given a list of all those who ought to fall. But the question was under what pretence this could take place, for Christian himself wished to appear innocent. Some proposed that an uproar and quarrel between the Swedes and Danes might be brought about in the town of which the Swedish Lords could be accused and bear the penalty; but then there was a dread that this pretended quarrel might become a real one, for the burghers did not love Christian, though they had presented him at his coronation with a gilt and curiously wrought goblet weighing one hundred and seventy-three ounces, and containing sixty Hungarian guldens as a pledge of their joy in the fortunate event. Others advised to lay gunpowder under the Castle, and accuse the Swedes of having intended to blow up the King; but this seemed too clumsy a stratagem. Others again proposed that the papal excommunication should be made use of, and they should be judged for their offence against Archbishop Trolle. But the King's promise of forgiveness for the past, his sacred and solemn oath in confirmation of it could not so easily be broken in the eyes of the whole world. To this Didrik Slaghök objected: "that though the King had promised forgiveness and oblivion in his own person, that for the Pope and the Church he had neither given nor could give such a promise." This artful and mean pretence was accepted with joy. It was settled that Gustaf Trolle should accuse the Swedish Senate and Lords of

the things in which they had trespassed against him and the Archbishopal dignity, for which he now demanded justice, according to the King's vow, to enact law and justice for all his subjects.

This determination was to be acted upon on the 7th of November, the day after the coronation festivities were concluded, and become as it were a confirmation of them. This day therefore a number of Swedes, under different pretences, were called to the Castle, where they were ushered into a large and spacious hall; but saw with alarm that the doors were shut behind them, so that none could leave the Castle though others might enter. All being collected, Christian entered and seated himself on his throne, with his council and chief Lords around him, when Archbishop Trolle advanced and began his accusation of the young Lord Sten Sture and the Swedish Senators, &c., as was before agreed with the King. Then the King inquired: "My Lord Archbishop, do you intend to have this matter brought to peace and friendship according to the counsel of good men, or will you have it judged by the law?" The Archbishop begged that "the accused who were present might be imprisoned, and their cause judged by the Pope." But the King answered, "that this was a matter not to be referred to the Pope, but terminated at home in the kingdom," with which the Archbishop declared himself satisfied. Some say that Gustaf Trolle was hardly put to it by the King to make this severe accusation; but the reason why Christian did not choose the cause should be referred to the Pope, was, that then he should have found no pretext to murder the Swedes.

As the accusation was first and chiefly directed against Lord Sten, his widow, the Lady Christina Gyllenstjerna who was present, was obliged to step forward to defend herself and her husband. She said that what

had been done to the Archbishop was not by Lord Sten alone, but with the consent and approbation of the Senate and the whole kingdom; in support of which she produced the parchment which contained Trolle's judgment, pronounced at Stockholm in the Diet of 1517. Christian seized greedily on this document, which was to become for him as a valid proof of the guilt of the accused. All who had signed it were called out one after the other. First came Bishop Hans Brask of Linköping, but he showed the little paper with the words, "*This I do by compulsion*,"* which he had hidden under the wax seal, and was therefore acquitted.

After him the other Bishops were called on, and then the Senators. Every one tried to excuse himself; but Bishop Otto was the only one of the number whose excuses were received. The King then quitted the apartment; but his council continued the examination which lasted till night, so that candles and torches were carried in. At last Severin Norrby and Klas Bille entered, followed by servants bearing swords and lights; they proceeded round the hall, choosing and seizing those among the terrified multitude who were to be imprisoned. Bishop Matthews' assiduous labours for King Christian availed him nothing; his former friendship and faithfulness towards the late Administrator could not be forgiven, and he was imprisoned. Bishop Vincent of Skara, who had ever remained the friend of the Sture's, and Christian's enemy, was still less likely to escape; however both Bishops were confined in a better prison than the others. The rest of the pretended criminals were altogether huddled into a tower, Senators, Prelates, Burgomasters, Noblemen, Priests, and Burghers. Among these were Sir Erik Lejonhufwud, who had shown the Danes the

* Book XII. Chapter III.

road at Ramundeboda, and Erik Ryning who together with Hemming Gadd had helped Christian into Stockholm; their cowardly and mean treachery was of no avail.

There were besides Erik Johansson, father of Gustavus Wasa, Knut Kirk, Eskil Banér, Erik Gyllenstjerna, Christina's brother, Joachim Brahe, Gustavus Wasa's brother-in-law, and many others.* The rest of those who were confined in the Castle, were not set at liberty, but forced to pass the night there in terror and alarm. The following morning, the 8th of November, at nine in the forenoon, several of the Swedish clergy, who had been shut up during the night, were called to the large hall, where they, together with Jöns Beldenack, Gustaf Trolle, the Bishops, Hans Brask and Otto Swinhufwud were to form a spiritual Court. Jöns Beldenack then put the following question to them: "If those who had conspired against the Pope and the Holy Chair of Rome, ought not to be considered as heretics?" Some of the priests were agreed with Christian and answered, "Yes." Others did not perceive what this was meant to conceal, and answered, "yes." Others again, though they very well perceived, the drift of the question, answered also "yes." The King was satisfied with the result, and pronounced the rest of the judgment himself,—viz: "that the Swedish

* Klavus Boye one of the burghers, however, escaped in the following manner. He was an uncommonly fat and bulky man, and when he was conveyed away to be thrown into prison with the others, the prison door was found to be too narrow for him. The soldiers had no time to squeeze him through: they therefore put him into a corner of the room to wait awhile. While they were occupied in incarcerating the others, Klavus Boye glided away as softly as he could, and succeeded in hiding his great body in the Castle during the two days the massacre lasted, after which he made his appearance, and Christian spared him.

Lords, having set themselves against the Pope, were heretics according to the judgment of the Court, and therefore should as heretics die."

The whole of that day the city gates were shut, so that none could get out. Early in the morning the trumpeters rode round the town, proclaiming that no citizen was to dare, for his life, to leave his house, till permission was again granted to do so. Large crowds of armed Danes were placed here and there on the chief squares, loaded cannon were drawn out on the Great Square with their muzzles pointed towards the principal streets. The whole town was in a dread and solemn expectation.

The Castle gates were at last thrown open at noon, and a mighty body of armed soldiers first appeared, and placed themselves in two long lines, reaching from the Castle to the Town House, which stood where the Exchange now is. The imprisoned Swedish Lords were led between them, as far as the Great Square, where a strong guard of Danish soldiers closed around them. The people who had now regained permission to leave their houses, streamed in that direction, and with anguish and alarm beheld the frightful preparations. Sir Nils Lycke the new knight now appeared on the balcony of the Town Hall, and addressed his speech to the assembled multitude thus: "Ye good men are not to wonder at what ye here behold, for these men altogether were wicked heretics, disobedient to the Holy Father in Rome; they had laid powder under the Castle to kill the King, who had notwithstanding spared them; but Archbishop Gustaf Trolle had three times knelt before him and demanded justice."

Bishop Vincent, from the Square below, now interrupted him, and called aloud: "that all this was but lies and nonsense; but God would yet punish Chris-

tian's cruelty and treachery." Sir Anders Karlsson and Anders Rut, two counsellors of Stockholm, also loudly called on the other Swedes, begging and beseeching "them in future not to permit themselves to be deceived by false promises, but one day to avenge this terrible treachery and tyranny." The Danish soldiers now made a great noise, so that their words could no longer be distinguished, and at the King's order (it is said that from a window in the Town Hall he looked on the whole proceedings) the execution began, and Klas Bille placed himself at hand to receive the golden chain and ring of every knight before he was beheaded. The prisoners then implored that they might at least be permitted first to confess and receive the Holy Sacrament. But even this was refused, and Bishop Matthew was led forth first. While he was kneeling with clasped and uplifted hands, his secretary Olof Petri and his brother rushed forward; but before they could reach the spot, their beloved master's head had fallen before one blow of the sword, and rolled towards them on the ground. Beside themselves with horror, they cried out that this was an inhuman action. "For these words they were immediately seized and dragged within the circle, and would certainly have been executed, had not some German soldiers saved them."*

Bishop Vincent was next beheaded, and then came the Senators' turn. Erik Lejonhufwud, Knut Kurk, Erik Johansson Wasa, Erik Ryning, Erik Gyllenstjerna, Eskil Banér, Joachim Brahe, and thirteen nobles

* These two brothers had studied at the University of Wittenberg in Germany. Ewert Leuf one of the German soldiers had seen them there, and believing them to be Germans, represented to his comrades that not being Swedes, they ought to be spared. This had its effect; the brothers escaped, and were precisely the same who some years later afforded Gustavus Wasa such signal assistance in the introduction of Lutheranism into Sweden.

and knights of the Senate. These were followed by the three Burgomasters of the town, and thirteen of the town council, together with fifteen of the chief citizens, some of whom, without the slightest warning, were snatched out of their houses, and led to execution. A citizen named Lars Hansson was standing in tears beholding this terrible scene; the soldiers dragged him within their lines, and by his death he was made to pay for his compassion. At last the execution stopped for that day; the heads were set up on poles, with the exception of Bishop Matthew's, to whom in consideration of his great services towards the King, this favour was shewn, that instead of being impaled it was laid between his feet. The dead bodies were left where they had fallen, to the horror of all. A violent rain came on which yet more disfigured the pale remains, and redly dyed water ran everywhere from the Great Square down into the streets, bearing a bloody witness to what had there taken place.

The second day, Friday the 9th, Christian remarked that many had hidden themselves whom he would willingly have murdered; he therefore made a proclamation that the inhabitants might now freely shew themselves, for he did not intend to punish any more. Some were simple enough to permit this trick to deceive them, and imprudently showed themselves, on which the massacre recommenced. Six or eight were beheaded on the Square; the gallows were continually full of dead bodies, and the servants of the deceased Lords, who came to town ignorant of what had happened, were often pulled from their horses with so much haste, that they, as they had come, booted and spurred were hoisted on the gallows. The King's soldiers and satellites broke into the houses, murdering the men, violating the women, and plundering every-

where. They bore away as much as they could carry ; and it seemed to them enough to leave the bare walls standing for the widows and fatherless children.

The corpses remained this whole day and night still lying on the Great Square ; and with horror and loathing the people saw the dogs begin to tear the remains of so many noble and innocent men ; and as the air was yet mild, a poisonous exhalation began to arise, which, it was feared, would bring the plague ; it was therefore determined that the bodies should be carried away before the break of the Sabbath morn. Jöns Beldenack, however, remembered that they, as heretics, could not be buried in form ; but ought, properly, to be burnt, which was done. A huge pyre was erected in the Southern suburb on the very spot where St. Catherine's Church now stands, to which the pale and mangled corpses were carried by cart loads, and burnt to ashes.

Christian seemed to have given himself up to a sort of madness of rage and fury. He ordered that the body of Sten Sture, the younger, should be torn from his grave in Riddarholm Church ; and it is said that in his frenzy he bit at the half-consumed remains. He also caused the remains of the young son of Lord Sten and Lady Christina, who had died during the siege, to be disinterred. He permitted the revengeful Gustaf Trolle to disentomb the remains of the reverend father Martin Jönsson who had, while he was Sten Sture's secretary, highly offended the Archbishop. These three bodies were carried to the great pyre on the Södermalm to be burnt with the rest, and the quarters of the town by St. Catherine's Church, still bear the name of Sture in memory of the dead.

Christian, next called Christina Gyllenstjerna to his presence. When she in her sorrow and despair

had presented herself before him, he bid her choose whether she would be burnt, drowned, or buried alive. The noble lady fainted at his feet. The entreaties of the witnesses of this scene, her own tears and great riches, at last mollified the tyrant; but she was obliged to promise to recall her young son from Dantzic that he might be educated in Denmark. Her mother, the old Lady Sigrid Banér, who by a former marriage was grandmother of Gustaf Wasa, was shut up in a bag and thrown into the stream; but some of the people on the shore succeeded in saving her by promising Christian her great fortune, for this was the best way to soften him to mercy. Lady Sigrid was taken up; but she herself, her two daughters, Lady Christina and Lady Cecilia of Eka, two of Gustaf Wasa's sisters, together with many other noble and honourable women, were carried away as hostages to Copenhagen, and shut into the dreadful dungeon, called the Blue Tower. There Gustaf Wasa's mother and two sisters died, and many others of hunger, thirst, and cold; and those who escaped with their lives had to thank Queen Isabella's mildness alone, who against her cruel husband's will, softened their captivity as much as lay in her power.

Not in Stockholm alone did the blood-thirsty monarch let the sword of the executioner massacre the Swedes: he commenced similar executions throughout the country. Such a King had taken care to place officers whom neither shame nor horror could withhold from the performance of such a command. Didrik Slaghök, who succeeded Vincent in his bishopric, and was likewise appointed Governor of the Castle of Stockholm, Jöns Beldenack who succeeded Matthew in Strängnäs, Anders Perssons in Örebro, Jöran Matsson and the young Sir Thomas in Finland, all possessed the King's greatest confidence in this matter, and never for

an instant spent a thought on shedding Swedish blood. These persecutions were carried on in every province, and many of the Swedish nobles were despicable enough to betray each other to the Danes, seeking thus a hateful and contemptible revenge for private and often insignificant disputes.

Some days after the massacre in Stockholm, Christian received the news that his Queen had borne him a daughter. The miserable flatterer, Gregorius Holst, prepared a great festivity. The citizens were invited to assemble for a magnificent repast in the Town-hall, followed by dancing and other amusements, in demonstration of their joy at the happy news. The entertainment was to take place at the expense of the burghers, and one may imagine with what satisfaction they paid their money; and their wives danced with their bloody oppressors. Christian then published a manifesto throughout the kingdom, in which he declared: "That the Swedish Lords, whom he had beheaded having been heretics, their death alone was able to deliver the country from the Pope's curse and excommunication. This having now taken place, he would be at liberty to rule the country according to its old laws. The Government during his absence was to be superintended by Archbishop Gustaf Trolle, and his father, Sir Erik Trolle."

Christian, still fearing a rebellion, renewed the old resolution of the Council of Linköping in 1153, that no peasant should bear arms, and even in many places had them taken from them by force. It was not a little humiliating and hard for the Swedes to see the Danes, proud and triumphant, rob them of their guns, bows and swords. It is related, that some irritated beyond endurance, suffered these words to escape them: "That iron and swords should not be wanting to punish the

tyrant as long as they were permitted to retain their feet to pursue, and their hands to revenge." To this the arrogant conquerers replied : " That a hand and foot might well be cut off from the Swedish peasant ; he would be able, notwithstanding, with one hand and a wooden leg to steer his plough." This senseless report was spread, believed, and caused a general panic ; for Christian's unnatural cruelty was such that the incredible became credible.

At last in December he prepared for his return ; the wheel, the gallows, and bloody executioners marked his journey. In Nyköping he caused his own favourite, Klas Holst, to be hung. He passed Christmas in Linköping with Bishop Hans Brask, who betrayed to him two of Sture's most devoted friends, Sven Hök and Peter Smed ; they were both quartered and exposed on the wheel. He laid hold of Sir Lindorm Ribbing in Jonköping, and beheaded him and his servants. Shortly after, seeing by chance Sir Lindorm's two little boys, the one eight and the other six years old, and fearing their revenge at a future period, he determined to make away with them both. The eldest boy was led out first and was beheaded. The younger looked at the streaming blood and the red stains on his brother's clothes, without knowing what it meant ; but when he was led out he turned with childish innocence to the executioner, and said : " Dear man, don't stain my shirt like my brothers, for then mamma will whip me." The executioner, melted at these words, threw the sword from him, and said : " I would rather blood my own shirt than thine." But the tiger-hearted Christian, who had been an eye-witness of this heart-rending spectacle was not to be touched by it. In a fury, he called for a more savage servant who struck off the heads of the innocent child and the compassionate executioner.

From this he proceeded to Nydala Cloister, and continued the same course there. But enough has been already said of his madness and fury ; the heart shudders at hearing or relating more.

In this detestable assemblage of crimes, it is a consolation to find some noble-minded men who dared to breast the dangerous stream. When Suckot, the Emperor Charles' legate, found that by all his exhortations he could not restrain Christian from the massacre in Stockholm, he left him suddenly, expressing his abhorrence of such a deed. Sir Otto Krumpe abandoned Christian immediately, and would no longer serve such a master. The Danish nobles detested and cursed their King's treachery ; and Severin Norrby openly protected the Swedish Lords who took refuge with him ; but these were not many. Death or dread had concealed many in the grave, and the poor remnant, in the inaccessible mountains. If they had by their selfishness, ambition, litigiousness and stubbornness during previous ages prepared so many misfortunes for their native land, they had now themselves paid the bitterest penalty. But Christian, the means of punishment, we cannot in his dreadful progress contemplate without horror from the moment he had determined on the impious and monstrous treachery we have related. Neither compassion, nor the fear of God, nor the advice of his friends, his own reason, nor his own advantage, were in any way able to stem his fury. He had thrown himself, with firm determination, into the path of crime ; blindly he rushed on in it, trampling justice, humanity, and virtue, boldly under his feet ; and flung himself at last with greater haste into the deep destruction which already had long awaited the royal criminal.

Part III.

THE LUTHERAN PERIOD.

BOOK I.

GUSTAVUS WASA.

CHAPTER I.

GUSTAF WASA'S ANCESTORS.

IN the time of King Erik the Lisper, lived a rich, brave, and influential man of the name of Inge-mund, who having often undertaken warlike expeditions to the east of Germany had acquired the surname of the German. Little more than this of his life and adventures has descended to us from those remote and unknown times, but so much the more of his descendants, for he was the ancestor of the House of Wasa.

The Knights of this family bore in their shield a sheaf or Wase *sable* on a field *or*. Some say it is intended to represent a fascine used in sieges for filling up moats ; others, the point of a halbert. This is however uncertain ; the first explanation is most general, and that adopted by the family itself. A small peasant farm called Wasa, in the parish of Skeptuna, in Upland, is said to have been their original property, who by their courage, and prudence thus soon obtained possession of the largest estates and manors in the country ; while in the person of Gustavus Wasa they

were exalted to the throne, and made heirs of the whole Kingdom of Sweden.

In our former pages we have often had occasion to speak of many remarkable men of this race. The brave Erik Kjellson who headed Margaret's troops in the battle of Falköping; the crafty Christer Niljson Wasa, who was so jealous of the fortunes of Charles VIII; his proud sons, Charles, Nil, and Johan, his grandson, the bold and warlike Bishop Kettil, who lifted the crown from the heads of Kings, and his brother, the rash and ambitious Erik Karljson, who thought to place it on his own; and finally, Gustavus Eriksson himself, who yet a youth, was the terror of Christian the Tyrant, the support of Sten Sture, and the hope and the reliance of his native land. The rest of the Wasas resembled these; they were tall, strong, handsome, and eloquent men; dauntless both in word and deed; proud, ambitious, crafty, and persevering; often loved, sometimes hated, seldom forgotten.

We have seen the mutual envy of Karl Knutsson Bonde, (Charles VIII) on the one hand, and Christer Nilsson Wasa on the other, which was the origin of the violent and inveterate hatred borne to each other by these two families. The Stures united to the Bondes were the strongest party within the country. The Wasas, and their relations the Oxenstjernas sought on the contrary foreign assistance, and held to the Danes during almost the whole duration of the union of Calmar. Sir Johan Christersson, however, by his marriages, first with a Sture, and then with a Bonde, was somewhat drawn over to the Swedish side; and Herr Erik Johansson of Rydboholm, his son by his first wife Brita Sture, married Cecilia of Uka, the half sister of Christina Gyllenstjerna, by which means he became the brother-in-law of Sten Sture the

younger. Though he was in heart devoted to the Swedish party, he meddled little with the politics of these days ; but dwelt quietly on his large estates, passing his time in all manner of sports, for he was of a gay and merry disposition, while his consort on the contrary, the Lady Cecilia, was of a very grave temperament. It once happened that an old chapel dedicated to St. Brigitta, at Finnstad, one of their estates in Upland, was burnt to the ground, to the great distress of the lady. "I had rather," she said, "that every building on the place had been destroyed than this Chapel of St. Brigitta." But Sir Erik stretched both his arms towards Heaven, exclaiming: "Thank God, thank God, that it is burnt! I, poor man, stood there ever in affright in my prayers, thinking it would fall about my ears, for the birds could have pecked through the old roof. Therefore, dear Lady Cecilia, it is well that it is gone. Thank God that we are permitted to retain our good new houses;" and when she heard this, she could not but smile midst all her concern.

This noble couple were present, as we have already said, at Stockholm, at the coronation of Christian the Tyrant, who, it has been even supposed, intended to spare Sir Erik, either because he imagined him to be a peaceable and harmless man, or because he hoped by his means to frighten his son into submission. But when Herr Erik heard this rumoured, he said; "My friends were honest gentlemen, and I will die with them in God's name," and he fearlessly bent his grey head to the axe of the executioner. Lady Cecilia and two of her daughters were carried with many other ladies of distinction to Denmark, where they suffered hardships so severe, that many of them died of cold, hunger, and neglect.

CHAPTER II.

GUSTAVAS WASA'S YOUTH.

IN the parish of Orkesta in Upland, lies an old tower, called Lindholm, now but a heap of stones, once a proud manor seat. The Castle itself strongly built of bricks and grey granite, and situated between two lakes, on the highest hill in those parts, commanded from the windows a wide prospect over mountains, wood and water. Here, by some accounts, on the 12th of May, 1490, by others in 1488, or 1495, (the year is uncertain) was born Gustavus Wasa, the son of Sir Erik and Lady Cecilia Wasa, of whom we have just spoken. The women present at his birth asserted that he had what is called a caul of victory on his head, and a red cross upon his breast, which were considered prognostics of his future fame and glory.

At the age of six he was sent by his parents to the Court of Sten Sture, the elder, to be educated, where there was no fear of his being spoilt by effeminacy and indulgence; his mode of life there was as simple and homely as his fare. His chief pleasure was with his companions hunting midst rocks and forests, which gave him a strong and healthy body, and a bold and cheerful spirit, and he was loved and admired by all. King John once in 1499, on a visit at Lord Sten Sture's, remarked the lively boy, then nine years old, as he was gambolling about the hall, called him to come, looked long at his fine and glowing countenance, then patted him on the head, and said: "Thou wilt certainly be a man in thy day, if thou livest to see it." Afterwards reflecting on his remarkable gifts and powerful family, he feared he might prove a strong impediment at a future period to the subjection of Sweden to Denmark, and therefore asked Sten

Sture to let him carry the fine boy to Copenhagen, that he might be brought up at his Court. But the wise Lord Sten was not slow to fathom the King's thoughts, and answered that Gustaf was yet too young to be taken from his parents; and soon after sent the child to Åland, of which his father had then the command. "The young wolf has slipped out of my net," said King John, when he afterwards heard of the remarkable qualities of the youth growing to manhood.

Gustavus afterwards accompanied his parents, who lived sometimes in Åland, sometimes at Rydboholm, sometimes at Råfsnäs; and received his education both from private teachers and at the newly founded academy of Upsala. Nothing was difficult to his capacious understanding.

He then passed some time at the Court of Swante Sture, but was chiefly occupied at Upsala in perfecting himself in the Arts and Sciences as they were then taught. He availed himself of both public and private tuition, and acquired by his rapid progress the good will of his masters and the respect of his companions; but being of a gay and lively disposition, he used to go in the intervals of study on parties of pleasure, generally to Quarnbo or to the parsonages of Wänge and Björklinge. Thus in his scarlet coat of English cloth, which was his usual dress, did Gustavus become known to, and loved and esteemed by, all classes, and at a future period found much assistance from these early friends at Upsala.

At the age of twenty-four he left the academy, and betook himself to the Court of Sten Sture, the younger, where he was soon a universal favourite. Hemming Gadd particularly was captivated by the young man, and the sincerest friendship was formed between them. From him Gustavus gained minute information regard-

ing the secret relations between Denmark and Sweden, and imbibed hatred for the Union, love for his own country, and desire to sacrifice all for her weal ; nor was the opportunity to show his zeal long in coming. In the preceding volume we have related how, by his bravery, he contributed to the victories of Dufwenäs and Brännkyrka, and finally, in 1518, in what a traitorous manner he was carried off by Christian and retained in Denmark while that tyrant was desolating Sweden, and hoping to reduce it to a province of his empire.

CHAPTER III.

GUSTAVUS WASA'S ESCAPE.

WHEN Christian came to Denmark with the hostages he had so treacherously captured, he was counselled by some to put them to death without delay ; but Mother Sigbrit opined, that by their means their friends and relations at home might be controlled, and that, therefore, though it was requisite to keep them in the strictest confinement, their lives ought to be spared. This plan was pursued, and the treatment the prisoners experienced in consequence, was none of the best.

By his grandmother, the Lady Sigrid Banér, Gustavus was related to that ancient Danish family, which during, or perhaps shortly previous to the Union of Calmar, had come into Sweden. At Kallö Castle in Jutland, lived at that time Herr Erik Banér, an honest and pious man who compassionating the severe treatment his young relation suffered in the Danish prison, asked Christian's permission to take him home to Kallö. The King's consent was hardly to be gained to this ; but he finally gave way to Banér's earnest entreaties, making him, however, become liable to a

penalty of six thousand riksthalers (about £500), if the dreaded prisoner should escape. By this means Gustavus was taken over to Kallö, where he was well received, and enjoyed much freedom. "I will not cause you to be strictly guarded, my friend," said Sir Erik; "neither will I put you in confinement. You shall eat at my table, and go where you please, only faithfully promise not to make your escape, nor journey anywhere unknown to me." To this Gustaf bound himself both by writing and word of mouth, and thus gained liberty to go where he pleased within six miles round Kallö. In the beginning he was always accompanied by a guardian; but gradually gaining more of his relation's love and confidence, he was at last left entirely to himself.

Thus Gustavus might have lived content and happy; but his proud spirit could never forget that he was a prisoner, nor in what a perfidious manner he had become so. What, however, most excited his grief and anger was hearing of the great preparations which Christian, in 1519, was making against Sweden, and the boasts of the young Danish nobles. This time, they said, the Danes would know better how to keep their advantage. They were to crush and entirely exterminate the noblest and richest Swedes, after which mean and needy Danish men could marry the widows, and thus come to wealth and power. This, and much similar talk Gustavus was continually obliged to hear, and it cut him to the quick. Day and night he was consumed by sorrow and anxiety, which but increased as the time drew on that Christian's army was to fall upon Sweden. Finally, i. e. the summer of 1519, he took his determination;—he dressed himself in peasant clothes, and set out early in the morning on the way to Holstein. Avoiding the high and open roads, he chose

by-paths, and made such despatch that at noon the following day he was at Flensburg. Here he fortunately fell in with some Saxon traders coming with a herd of cattle from Jutland, and bound for Germany. He accompanied them, and on the 30th of September safely reached the free town of Lübeck, one of the Hanseatic League, where he immediately demanded and obtained permission from the Burgomaster and council to remain, with a warrant for his personal safety during the time of his stay in the town.

He was shortly after followed by Sir Erik Banér, who presented himself before the Senate, complained of Gustavus' faithlessness and ingratitude in return for his kindness and affection for him, and moreover threatened the Lübeckers with Christian's enmity if they should protect this his known enemy. Gustavus boldly answered that he was no lawful prisoner, but a man carried off by falsehood and deceit, who therefore had a right to free himself whenever he had the power. 'The six thousand riksthalers, which Sir Erik had become bound for to Christian, he promised to return with interest and gratitude when he got home again. "And," added he, "I trust to this, that I am in a free town on whose word once given, one ought to be able to depend." This produced so much effect, that Banér's efforts were vain.

But a return to Sweden was no such easy matter for Gustavus to accomplish. He was forced to remain eight months in Lübeck, and employed this leisure in weighing the causes of the power, and carefully examining the commerce and naval institutions of the Hanse towns. Here too it was, that he first became acquainted with the new doctrines which Luther at that time began preaching in Germany, all of which proved greatly to the advantage of his country when he became Sovereign.

Meanwhile one report followed another of Christian's great success against the Swedes; first of the battle of Bogesund, then of the treachery at Tiweden, followed by the death of Sten Sture, and finally of the subjugation of almost the whole kingdom. Alarm, anger, and grief, by turns mastered Gustavus' spirit; but his chief desire remained ever the same, to hurry home to the assistance of his oppressed country. The town-council of Lübeck, however, dreading Christian's increasing power, began to show symptoms amongst many of its members of a desire to conciliate him by giving up Gustavus; but in one of their private sittings, their wise and much esteemed Burgomaster, Nicolas Bröms, stood up, and represented to them, how that Christian had before sought to diminish the power and commerce of the Hanse towns; how he had already in his own kingdom granted to Dutch traders, the rights and liberties which they before had alone enjoyed, and that should he now become master of the whole North, his power would suffice entirely to crush their confederacy. It was their part, therefore, to support Gustavus Wasa, who appeared to be one possessed of courage, understanding, and importance sufficient, to set bounds to Christian's ambitious undertakings. This reasoning moved the merchants, who promised to convey Gustavus over to Sweden, and further to succour him with men and money. Soon after he embarked on board a small trading vessel, and stood out to sea; his wish would have been to sail for Stockholm directly, but this was not to be ventured, as the Baltic and the Skares swarmed with Danish ships of war; he therefore steered the shortest way across to Calmar, which he knew to be yet in Swedish hands; but even there he dared not hazard himself in the town, before which Severin Norrby lay with a Danish fleet. At Stensö, a short

distance from it, he landed secretly on the 31st of May, 1520, alone with his courage and his sword, but entertaining notwithstanding the firm resolution to deliver his oppressed country.

CHAPTER IV.

GUSTAVUS WASA'S ADVENTURES IN THE SOUTH OF SWEDEN.

STOCKHOLM and Calmar were the only fortified towns still retained by the Swedes, both defended by two heroic women. Stockholm by Christina Gyllenstjerna, Calmar by Anna Bjelke, widow of Johan Månsson Natt och Dag. To the latter Gustavus presented himself, and was received with joy. He went into the town, and on the market-place addressed the assembled burghers, encouraging them to resist the enemy; but they stood silent and disheartened while he spoke, so that he could easily perceive that nought was to be gained with such pusillanimous subjects as these. He next turned to the garrison of the Castle itself, but they were hired German mercenaries, who, weary of the war, desired nothing so much as to deliver up themselves and their charge to Severin Norrby. Finding in Gustavus an impediment to their object, they received him with so much anger and bitterness, that Lady Anna Bjelke was obliged to snatch him from their rage. He therefore left Calmar, and proceeded cautiously up the country towards Småland, hearing with indignation as he went, how Swedish men, through envy, private feuds, and avarice, had betrayed, and given each other up to the foreigners. He therefore often presented himself before the people, exhorting them to unity and resistance, and warning them of Christian's falsehood and tyranny; but in vain. They were weary of the war, and the

peasants were gained over to Christian. "Neither salt nor herring fail us," they said, "as long as we obey the King. He is a gracious master to us," and when Gustavus attempted to proceed with his speech, he was threatened, and even assailed with lances and arrows, so that he was obliged to retire without delay. In disguise he now made his way through forests and wildernesses, and finally reached a manor-house in Södermanland called Tärnö, where his sister Margaret, and her husband, Sir Joachim Brahe, resided.

Great was their joy to see once more the long-lost, and so dearly-loved brother; but their consternation was equally great when they heard that he intended to commence a rebellion against Christian. Joachim Brahe and his wife were at this time preparing to start to attend Christian's coronation, and offered to try in every possible way to reconcile Gustavus to the King; but Gustavus on the contrary warned Joachim of Christian's falsity, and exhorted him rather to assist in his expulsion. Lady Margaret threw herself, with prayers and tears on her brother's neck, and besought him to refrain from his undertaking, and not involve himself and his whole family in ruin; but Gustavus remained immovable. The too confident Joachim set off with his wife to Stockholm to see that crown set on Christian's head, which Gustavus, who also soon after left Tärnö, vowed in his heart should not remain there long.

He now turned towards Rässnäs, one of his paternal estates not far from Mariefred, where he lay awhile concealed, occasionally despatching some of his peasants on whom he could depend towards Stockholm, to bring him back tidings. Meanwhile he once visited the old Archbishop Jacob Ulfsson who yet lived in Gripsholm cloister, discovered himself to him, and

asked his paternal advice. The Archbishop informed him that he was included in Christina Gyllenstjerna's capitulation, and that Christian had graciously received the Swedes who had gone over to him; it would therefore be best, he opined, that Gustavus followed the example of his relatives, and claimed the King's pardon; on which the Archbishop promised to plead his cause in the warmest manner. Gustavus, however, was not to be convinced; he knew Christian all too well; had heard while at Kallö too much of the Danes' intentions, and was besides too wise and prudent to give himself up, without being forced to it, into his enemy's hands.

Some time afterwards, it was late in the month of November, Gustavus was one day hunting in the neighbourhood of Räfsnäs, when most unexpectedly he met the old and faithful steward of his brother-in-law Joachim Brahe, who had accompanied his master to Stockholm. "Ah, dear Lord!" exclaimed the old man with tears, as soon as he saw Gustavus, "now is our country in a most sad and miserable condition!" He wanted to proceed with the account of the Blood-bath in Stockholm; but his tongue refused to speak, sobs choked his utterance, and by tears and gestures, he alone could answer Gustavus' eager questionings. But at length Gustavus learnt all: the death of his father, his relatives, his friends; the imprisonment of his mother and sisters; the fall and subjection of his fatherland; and finally that a high price was set on his own head, which tidings in every particular were soon after confirmed by another of his peasant emissaries returning from Stockholm.

We cannot describe the grief of the son, the sorrow of the brother, the wrath of the hero, and the indignation of a true and honest heart. Gustavus had lost

all ; but the greatest need inspires the greatest courage, and he determined to venture all against the tyrant. He collected his gold and silver, mounted a horse, and left Råfsnäs accompanied by one single servant, intending to pursue the way to Dalarna ; but they had not proceeded far, when they were stopped by Kolsund Ferry, which crosses to the Island of Sela. The man, meanwhile, who had bethought himself how hazardous was his master's undertaking, determined to avail himself of this opportunity ; and as Gustavus first crossed the ferry alone, threw himself on the horse, and escaped with it and his master's valuables. But Gustavus recrossed the ferry without delay, and followed the fugitive with such speed, that he finally, in his alarm, leapt off the horse, and rushed into the wood, where he concealed himself as fast as he could. Gustavus recovered his horse and his jewels, and resumed his former route. Hitherto he had met with nought but falsehood or cowardice. Amidst that people who, under Engelbrecht and the Stures, had so often rescued their country, he hoped once more to find the immortal faith and bravery of the Swedes.

CHAPTER V.

GUSTAVUS WASA'S ADVENTURES IN DALARNA.

GUSTAVUS WASA reached Dalarna at the end of November. That he might be better disguised, he had thrown off his costume in the house of a peasant, cut his hair round, dressed himself in a round hat and short baize jacket, and afterwards with an axe on his shoulder, gone about like the peasant-lads seeking work.

He got service first with a rich miner, named Anders Persson, of Rankhytta, in whose barn he threshed

several days; his fellow-labourers, however, presently remarked that he was unaccustomed to the work, and they thought his attitudes and gestures different from those of a common farm-servant. A maid also once perceived a silk collar sticking out from under his coarse jacket, which circumstance, she together with her own surmises, presently confided to her master. The man called Gustavus aside, looked at him, and soon recognised him, for they had been often together at Upsala. Anders Persson certainly received Gustavus well, but when he heard from him the disasters of Stockholm, and his exhortations to assist in the deliverance of his country, showed himself more shy; he even dreaded entertaining him longer, and counselled him to go further up the country, and often change his place of abode. Gustavus Wasa left this timorous friend, and proceeded on the way to Ornäs. At night, as he was crossing the freshly frozen Lillelf, which falls out of Lake Runn into the Dalelf, the ice broke under him, and he plunged into the water; but light and active, he swung himself up again, and returned to the house of the ferryman, where he passed the night, and dried his clothes. The following day he came to Ornäs, where a former Upsala friend, Arendt Persson Örnflykt lived, who, however, now by marriage and other relations, was nearly connected with the Danish commanders and with the Swinhufwud family, which had been ever devoted to Christian, as Arendt himself now was. Gustavus, ignorant of these changes, trusted himself and his plans confidently to his host. This crafty man received him well, and pretended to approve of his intentions; promising in addition to help him to the best of his ability, and offering to set out immediately to ascertain the sentiments of his neighbours on the subject. He conducted him to a garret at the top of

the house that he might seek the repose he needed, and Gustavus rejoiced to have found assistance at last; and weary after his wanderings, laid himself down soothed and confidently to sleep. The treacherous Arendt, on his side, set off to seek his neighbour Måns Nilsson Swinhufwud, of Aspeboda, informed him of every thing, and begged his assistance in gaining the high recompence set by Christian on Gustavus' head. But Måns abhorred such treachery, and Arendt was obliged to leave him without having accomplished his object; he therefore drove past his own house to the Danish steward, Brun Bengtsson, of Sättra, where they collected twenty men, with whom on the following morning they set off for Ornäs, in the intention of capturing Gustavus; but when they entered the garret in which he had slept, he had disappeared, and was nowhere to be found. He had been rescued from this ignominious treachery.

It had happened thus. Barbara Stigsdotter, Arendt Persson's wife, though a Swinhufwud by both father's and mother's side, had yet been greatly interested in Gustavus Wasa; and when she saw her husband, returning from Måns Nilsson, drive directly past his own house to the steward's, understood his treachery and determined to save the persecuted fugitive. She ordered Jacob, one of her men, to harness a sledge with the utmost secrecy and despatch, and keep it in readiness behind the building. She then mounted to the garret, woke Gustavus, told him of the danger which hung over his head, and of her desire to rescue him. They opened the window, and as it was eighteen feet from the ground, Barbara assisted him in his descent with a long towel, such as is still used in some remote districts. Gustavus then threw himself into the sledge, and Jacob drove briskly off, as his mistress had desired.

It is said that Arendt could never forgive his wife for this action ; and from that day he would never more set eyes upon her.

The Lady Barbara had counselled Gustavus to betake himself to Herr Jon, the Priest of Svärdsjö ; the driver therefore took the road over the frozen Lake Runn, and they ascended its banks safely amidst the smoke driven down from the Fahun copper mines. About sunrise they reached the villages of Korsnäs and Sandwik, situated on the north-east end of the lake, further than which Jacob was unacquainted with the country. Gustavus intended to inquire in a house the way from Korsnäs to Svärdsjö, but as he was on the point of entering, he perceived the miner, Nils Hanssen, whom he knew very well to be a Danish partisan ; he therefore hastily, and without being observed, turned behind the door, and crossed to the Sandwik huts. There he met a smelter, who accompanied him on the way to Svärdsjö ; when they parted, Gustavus gave him a silver dagger, saying, " If God helps me, seek me, and I will richly repay you." He thence proceeded on his way to Bengtshed, where he asked night quarters. As he was sitting in the cottage at night, the good-wife said to him, " Young man, make me some pudding skewers since you have nothing else to do ;" but Gustavus excused himself, saying he was unable.

The following day he reached the parsonage of Svärdsjö, where he went first to the labourers in the barn, helped them to thresh, and informed himself meanwhile of the priest's politics. Having ascertained that he was no friend of the Danes, he made himself known to him, was well received, and entertained for three days. He also had been one of Gustavus' associates at Upsala ; but even here suspicions arose. Herr Jon's housekeeper once surprised them when Gustavus

was washing ; “ Why are you standing holding the towel for him ? ” she asked. “ That is not your affair,” answered her master ; but after this he thought it better to seek a securer resort for Gustavus, and therefore sent him to Swen Elfsson, gamekeeper to the crown, who lived at Isala, not far from Swärdsjö Church. Scarcely, however, had Gustavus reached the place, before some of the emissaries of the steward, who had received a hint of the route he had followed, entered the cottage. Swen Elfsson’s wife was in the act of putting her bread in the oven, and Gustavus stood beside the hearth warming himself as the spies entered and inquired about the fugitive. The good wife, to avert all suspicions, raised her bread shovel, and giving him a good blow with it on the back, exclaimed, “ What are you doing here gaping at strangers ! Have you never seen a man before ? Pack off with yourself to the barn and thresh ! ” He took the hint and retired, nor was it easy for the spies to imagine that it was the proud Lord Gustavus whom the peasant’s wife was treating so unceremoniously. Having been unable to discover him, they went as they came. Swen Elfsson, however, did not consider Gustavus in sufficient security at Isala ; he concealed him therefore in a large load of hay, and drove it up towards the uninhabited forests. They were soon met by some of the Danish scouts, who suspecting the peasant, began poking their lances through the hay. One of them wounded Gustavus in the leg, but he lay silent and motionless ; discovering nothing, they permitted Swen to proceed on his way, who however soon perceived that blood ran out of his cart and tinged the snow, for Gustavus had been cut on a vein. Fearing this might betray them, Swen unclasped his knife and cut a deep hole on the leg of his horse, determining to assign this as the cause,

if any should take note of the stains on their track. Finally he delivered Gustavus to the care of Per and Matts Olfsson, gamekeepers at Marnäs, a village situated far in the Finn Forest, near the boundaries of the parishes of Swäldsjö, Leksand and Bjursås; but even there he was considered insecure. They guided him yet further into Leksand Forest, in which he lay concealed three days under a great fallen fir; and the peasants of Marnäs brought him meat and drink, and what more he required. Yet again he changed his hiding-place, and lay under a lofty fir tree which stood on an elevation surrounded by a marsh, which has ever since been called "The King's Height." Finally the Danish efforts in these districts relaxed, and the faithful Marnäs' peasants conducted Gustavus through their huge forests down to Rättwick's Church, which lies at the eastern extremity of the great Lake Silja.

At this Church Gustavus spoke for the first time to the assembled people. The peasants listened to his words; they were not unwilling, but still they were desirous of first hearing the opinions of their neighbours. Gustavus satisfied with this beginning, continued his route to Mora, at the northern end of the Silja, one of the oldest and most populous parishes of the Vallies. The priest of the parish, Jacob Persson, received him in a friendly manner, but did not dare, on account of the strict searches of the Danes to conceal him in his own house, but trusted him to a peasant called Tomte Mattes, in the village of Utmeland. Here he was concealed in a vaulted cellar, to which the entrance was by a trap door in the floor. The Danish scouts soon arrived, but Tomte Matte's wife, who was in the midst of her brewing of Christmas ale, turned a great tub over the trap door, so that the Danes did not remark it, and Gustavus escaped this peril likewise. Shortly

after, it was one of the Christmas festivals, just as the men of Mora were coming out of church, Gustavus mounted on a little mound by the churchyard to speak to the assembled multitude. The low noon-day sun stood right over the hills of Essund lying directly south, and spread a dazzling light over the snowy region; a fresh north wind was blowing, which by the Mora men is considered a good token. They collected round Gustavus, gazing earnestly on the youthful and manly figure of the young noble, of whose unmerited sufferings they had already heard so much.

He began with a strong and sonorous voice: "I see your numbers with great joy; but with equal sorrow I contemplate the situation of each and all of us. The risk at which I make myself known you best know, who daily and hourly see how my life is sought after; but our unhappy country is dearer to me than life. How long shall we be slaves, we who are born to freedom? The old amongst you yet remember what compulsion and persecution Swedish men have had to suffer from Danish Kings, and it should be related to the young to teach them from their youth to hate and resist such government. These tyrants have sacrificed all our possessions; they have sucked the strength from our land, so that nothing remains to us but empty houses, impoverished fields, and insecure life. Do you remember how Jösse Eriksson treated you under Erik of Pomerania? The same times and the same misfortunes are now returned. Our land swims, so to say, in our own blood. Many hundred Swedish men have been made to suffer a disgraceful and unmerited death. Our Bishops and Senators have been cruelly murdered. I myself have lost father, and brother-in-law"—and the tears streamed from his eye as he spoke—"the blood of all these cries for redress and retribution on the

tyrant. The Dalmen have been, in all time, known for their bravery and presence of mind when the weal of their country was concerned; for this you are renowned in our chronicles; and the inhabitants of all Sweden now turn their eyes on you whom they are accustomed to consider the firm defenders and protectors of the liberties of our land. I will willingly go along with you, and spare neither my blood nor my sword, for more the tyrant has not left me; and he shall then experience that Swedish men are both faithful and valiant, and that they are to be governed by the law and not by a yoke."

The Dalmen answered by cries and shouts of vengeance, and many were ready to rush to arms; but yet greater numbers stood of a doubtful mind. They were weary of so many wars, neither was Gustavus personally known to them; they had also heard speak of Christian's mildness and generosity towards the peasantry, and thought that his cruelty fell only on the great, in which belief they were confirmed by the Danish emissaries, who even went so far as to deny the reports of the massacre at Stockholm. The peasants therefore were unable to form any positive determination, and purposed first to consult with their neighbours; meanwhile they begged Gustavus to seek safer quarters for himself, which precaution was indeed necessary, for with the price on his head, the energy of his pursuers was doubled. He was even compelled for some days to lie concealed under Morkarleby Bridge, near Mora Church, and this in the dead of winter. Finally he got from that concealment, but with an almost despairing heart; little hope of assistance seemed to be left either for himself or his unhappy country; he therefore passed northwards through the parish of Mora, and then across the mountains and desolate forests which separate the

East and West Vallies. He passed the nights in the solitary sheds, which the people had erected here and there for the convenience of passengers, and at last descended again to inhabited districts in the parish of Lima in West Dalarna. We are not however told that he here made any attempt to raise the people; he seems to have lost all hope of success. Silently he followed the Western Dalelf up its course through measureless forests filled with snow. Darker and more hoarsely roared the stream over its rocky bottom, smaller and rarer became all human habitations on its banks, and thicker and firmer lay the snow in the thick-set forests.

Finally Gustavus at a distance beheld the lofty chain of Norwegian mountains which were soon and for ever to divide him from his unfortunate fatherland.

CHAPTER VI.

REMORSE OF THE DALMEN.

THOUGH the men of Mora had not been able to determine on assisting Gustavus, they had yet taken a great liking to the young noble for his manly and courageous nature, his powerful and heart-stirring language. But Gustavus had particularly made an impression on Rasmus Jute, a Dane, who had faithfully served the Stures, and was now established in Dalarna. As he heard that Nils Westgöthe one of the inferior stewards had come down with the purpose of seizing Gustavus, and was now at the house of the sergeant of the parish of Mora, he armed himself and some of his servants, and marching out fell on him unawares, being thus, though a stranger and even a Dane, the first who took arms in the defence of Gustavus Wasa.

Shortly after, the men of Rättwick saw a troop of full a hundred Danish horsemen, come marching across the

ice up Lake Silja. They were unaccustomed to see a body so numerous in those parts, and suspected that the Danes intended to take Gustavus by force, and probably do themselves some injury; they therefore assembled, and commenced ringing the church bells, the usual summons to arms in those times. The wind carried the sound up to the northern parishes, and troops of armed peasants were soon seen pouring down the hills on every side. The Danes in alarm shut themselves up in the priest's house; the peasants broke down gates and doors, and rushed in; the Danes then fled to the church steeple, but even there they were as eagerly followed. It was but by prayers and a solemn promise not to do Gustavus Wasa any injury, that the terrified troopers could save their lives and get safely out of the tower again; but the Dalmen fearing that some might yet remain concealed in the narrow spire, shot at it with their arrows from every side, and more than a hundred years after, these arrows were seen still sticking in the old wooden church tower.

Meanwhile several of the persecuted Swedish noblemen and many others sought refuge in Dalarna, as the only place where they might hope for assistance and defence. These confirmed all that Gustavus had before told the peasants, and when Lars Olsson, an old warrior of the Björnram family, who was well known to them, arrived, and related to the men of Mora how that at every sergent's house where he stopped at his Eriks-gata, Christian had caused a gallows to be raised—that he had levied a new tribute on the peasants, that a hand and foot were to be cut off each to make them incapable of defence, and many other similar reports both true and false—they called to mind what Gustavus had said to them, and repented that they had let him go. When Lars Olsson heard that he had been there, and

what had passed, he loudly reproached the peasants for their folly, for Lars Olsson knew Gustavus well. "Good men," said he, "that gentleman was indispensable to you, if both yourselves and the commonalty of the whole country are not to be oppressed, destroyed, nay even exterminated, Gustavus Wasa is the only one who has sense and knowledge enough to conduct us, and lay the hand to so great a work." As he was thus speaking, another fugitive came out of the forest, who strengthened Lars Olsson's words, and further went into a detailed account of Stockholm's blood-bath, and finally related that the corpse of their beloved leader, Sten Sture, had been torn from the grave and dishonoured. The peasants were now beside themselves : horror, terror, and rage filled their hearts ; war and bloody vengeance was their only cry, their only thought ; to which was added sorrow and remorse for having permitted Gustavus Wasa, their own and their country's chief hope, to depart unheard. Engelbrecht, and Lars of Kettilbo, two Mora men, the fleetest skaters* of those parts were chosen to overtake and bring their hero back. They hastened through forests, entered West Dalarna, followed his traces, and found him finally at Sälen, the last village on the West Dalelf, immediately at the foot of the lofty Norwegian mountains. They related to him what had happened, the remorse of the peasants, and their readiness to support him, and Gustavus turned, and accompanied them back to his beloved native land.

* These skates are long light pieces of wood, and are used by the Laplanders and Dalmen for speeding over the frozen snow which covers their land so many months of the year.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR FOR DELIVERANCE.

WITH every token of reverence and joy was Gustavus received by the assembled men of Mora. They swore obedience and loyalty; two hundred placed themselves under his command, and sixteen picked peasant lads were appointed for his body-guard. To encourage his people, he soon after, being already a thousand men strong, undertook an expedition to Fahlun, where the steward and several of Christian's partizans were made prisoners, and the shops of the foreign traders given up to the plunder of his followers, while the King's contributions from the whole district were taken up and distributed as pay.

After this commencement Gustavus seemed to draw back for awhile; but the fame of his undertaking had spread far and wide, and many fugitives, who had before been groping about among the wild beasts of the forest, now hastened forward to join themselves to his troop. Their numbers soon increased to three thousand men, and the whole of Dalarna acknowledged his dominion. He then marched to Helsingland, but the people there, either dared not, or would not assist him; Gustaf Trolle had by his letters perverted their minds; but the whole of Gestrikland and the town of Gefle joined him, and the persecuted noblemen from Stockholm and the rest of the kingdom crowded to his standard. Among them was the bold and valiant Peter Fredag, who, before under the Lady Christina, had borne so active a part in the defence of Stockholm. As Gustavus was on his way back to Dalarna, he was met by the report that the troops whom he had left there had been beaten to a man by the Danes; in alarm he hastened his march, and as he came nearer, found to his relief that on the

contrary it was the Danes who had been beaten by the Dalmen.

The Danish party, headed by Didrik Slaghök, Gustaf Trolle and Jöns Beldenack, had hoped to quell the insurrection in the very beginning; and therefore with a hastily assembled troop of six thousand men marched towards Dalarna. During his absence in Helsingland, Gustavus Wasa had confided the chief command to Peter Svensson and Olof Bonde, who had gone to the mining districts of Nora and Linde, there to gain partisans; hearing, however, of the progress of the Danes, they hurried back to Hedemora, and collected five thousand Dalmen, with whom they marched down to Brunbäck Ferry, which crosses the Dalel where it forms the division between Westmanland and Dalarna. They arrived in the proper moment to prevent the passage of the enemy; the Dalmen encamped on the north, the Danes on the south side of the river, and contemplated each other with no friendly glances.

Bishop Beldenack who had not forgotten how often his countrymen had been beaten and put to flight by these white-coated peasants now lying before him on the opposite side of the stream, asked some of his Swedish partizans, "how many men they thought the vallies could muster?" "Twenty thousand men at the least," they answered, "for the old men there are as active as the young." "But what do they live on?" asked the Bishop. "On bread and water," was the answer; "and when corn fails they mix their bread with ground bark; nor do they care much for either cold or heat, hunger or thirst." Then said the Bishop: "A people who eat wood and drink water, the very devil himself, far less man will not be able to overcome."

Meanwhile the Dalmen began by a continued firing across the river to disturb the Danes, who were obliged

to retire ; but Peter Svensson who saw this, had no intention of letting them escape so easily ; he marched down the river to another ferry six miles below, and there crossing, fell on the Danes unexpectedly at Söunebohed just as they were preparing to break up. Some part of his troop, whom he had left behind, crossed at Brunbäck Ferry, and attacked the enemy on their side. The assault was violent and well-conducted ; the greater part of the Danes fell before the arrows and clubs of the Dalmen ; many were chased into the river where they were drowned, and the rest pursued as far as the province of Westmanland. Didrik Slaghök and Jöns Beldenack did not stop till they got to Westerås. The Dalmen rejoiced in their signal success ; and to this very day the songs composed about it may be heard in the Vallies.

Thus we drove the Jutes into Brunbäck's wave,
 Thus the water sealed their doom.
 We grieve for this, that the river gave
 Not Christian's self a tomb.

Faliwilom !

CHAPTER VIII.

ADVENTURES AT KÖPING.

PETER UGGLA, a dauntless spirit in the mines of Linde, had raised the people in the national cause ; having heard that Anders Persson, the Governor of Örebro Castle, was at Köping inciting the people against the Swedes, he collected his men, attacked Anders Persson on the 20th of April, defeated him, and drove the whole party through the town of Köping. After this Peter Ugglä and his men thought they had done their share and required repose ; he himself laid aside his armour, and after a good supper betook himself to bed, which example was followed by many of

his men ; the rest quartered themselves on a long low mound at no great distance, carrying with them many a tun of good ale taken in the town. Here they lighted full a hundred fires, round which they stretched themselves, drank, sung and made themselves merry, and finally fell asleep by their empty barrels, and dying embers. Anders Persson soon discovered this neglect ; rode with despatch to Westerås, where he got three hundred horsemen, with whom he returned the same night, and assaulted the unprepared Swedes. Peter Ugglå, and almost the whole of his troop were made to pay the penalty of their negligence ; and proudly triumphant, the Danes rejoined their countrymen in Westerås.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BATTLE OF BALUNDSÅS.

GUSTAVUS sought meanwhile to improve the Dalmen in the art of war ; he taught them to sharpen the points of their arrows, that they might take better effect on the armour of their adversaries ; he caused long lances to be made for a certain number of his troop, that they might be able to keep off the attack of the horsemen, and drilled them besides to keep compact squares, turn to right and left, and so on. He was very severe towards those who showed insubordination, either in discipline or in plundering the peasants ; he himself examined into and judged the transgression, and death was often the reward of such wild offenders ; but on the other hand, none could be more anxious or eager for all that regarded their interests or well-being, sparing on his part neither pains or trouble to see that they should want for nothing. By these means he was both loved and esteemed, and none either desired, or ventured to do anything against his will.

On the 23rd of April, the valiant St. George's Day, he mustered his whole army by Romfertuna Church, divided it into squares, and then into two main bodies, of which he confided the one to Lars Olsson, the other to Lars Eriksson, who were to bear the command of each. He next made a formal declaration of war against King Christian, and on the 29th of April marched down to Balundsås, east of Westerås, intending on the following day to attack the town. But the Danes, proud of their victory at Köping, said contemptuously, "that even if it should rain Dalmen for three days, they would cut them all to pieces," and with similar expressions they rushed out of the town, hoping at once to drive back the advancing Swedes. Gustavus was but half way through Balunds Forest, when he heard the sound of the battle already begun; he hurried on, the Danish shot was flying on every side, and struck his companions; in vain his men besought him to shun the danger for his own person, he was not to be restrained; but the victory was almost already won before he arrived. When the Danish horsemen had ridden against the Dalmen, Lars Olsson had made them put their new lances to profit; in vain the riders sought to press through the thick-set hedge of pointed spears which stretched before them; the horses stumbled and fell pierced by the long lances, and brought down their riders in their fall, who all clad in harness as they were, were stung by the newly pointed Dal arrows. Thus four hundred fell; the rest turned in affright, threw themselves on their own infantry, which was trodden under foot, and put in confusion. The battle was lost; the Danes fled to the town where they sought to make a second resistance, and the garrison of the Castle to assist them, set the nearest wooden houses on fire; but they were followed through its streets by Lars Olsson and Lars Eriksson, who pursued

them to the bridge, crossing the river which runs on the other side, where many of them in the confusion were drowned. Others crowded into the convent by the bridge, seeking to confess and receive absolution before they should be cut down by the pursuing Swedes. The Danes had thrown up fortifications beyond the bridge, and there the fight concluded. The victors extinguished the fire in the town, and Lars Eriksson and his troop rejoined Gustavus, carrying with them the Danish cannon, which had been taken in their violent skirmish in the street. The miners and peasants however who remained in the town, unaccustomed to discipline and order, thinking themselves quite secure, dispersed to plunder the store-houses. Others went down into the cellars to make acquaintance with what liquor they might contain; and some merry fellows among them carried a great wine barrel up to the Council Hall, placed it on the middle of the floor, themselves in a circle round it, and broached it with songs and merriment. The Danes remembering what had happened at Köping, collected beyond the river, and prepared themselves to fall on the Swedes by the time they should be intoxicated. But neither had Gustavus forgotten that misfortune; and knowing but too well the want of discipline among the Dalmen, sent Lars Olsson back with his troop to take note of the movement of the Danes; and not before time, for scarce had he reached the market-place, ere he met them fully armed and in good order marching back into the town. A violent struggle now recommenced; but the Danes were again driven back, and obliged to betake themselves to their entrenchments beyond the river. Gustavus now entered the town himself; in wrath he learnt the disorder and drunkenness of the peasants, and reproached them in sharp and serious terms. He descended into the cellars, struck himself

the staves off some barrels, letting the wine and ale flow in streams, and desired his servants to do the same. "I would rather see meat and wine wasted," he said, "than the blood of my soldiers."

CHAPTER X.

BENGT BJUGG.

THE news of this victory spread far and near; gentle and simple crowded to join the young and fortunate leader; amongst others, Arwid Westgöthe, the same who afterwards became one of Gustavus' bravest and most trustworthy officers. The army was now divided. Örebro was to be besieged by Olof Bonde; Westerås by Lambrecht Mattsson; Nyköping by Lars Hård. The people rose on every side against the Danes; the Södermanlanders went of their own accord to Hørningsholm, took it by storm, and cut down, or took prisoners the whole garrison.

Lars and Eriksson were sent to Upsala, who on their way thither, raised the people and took them in their train. The Archbishop was not in the town, and the terrified canons sent a message to the two generals, desiring them to desist from their hostilities, as the festival of St. Erik was now to be celebrated, and his bones to be carried between Old and New Upsala. These officers replied, "it is the province of Swedish men and not foreigners to carry the sacred remains of the patron of the kingdom; they would therefore do their best to be present in Upsala for the solemnity;" and with these words the envoys of the canons was obliged to return.

A man of the name of Bengt Bjugg, was at this time the Archbishops' steward in Upsala; he had at Torgstuna surprised and beaten a hundred of Gustavus's men, and therefore despised them in the pride of his

success. He had even now despatched scouts ; but as Gustavus had discovered and taken them, he remained in ignorance of the motions of the Swedes, and hearing of the alarm of the canons and citizens, prepared a great feast in the garden of the Archiepiscopal palace, and caused the palings to be torn down, that the people without might better see how little he feared the attack of the enemy. Here he permitted his people to dance, sing and drink, and it was not till after midnight that they and their master fell asleep, drunken and weary. At two in the morning, the Swedish troops marched into the town ; the half-sleeping sentries were removed, the defences before the palace easily pulled down, and Bengt Bjugg and his companions did not awake until they heard the heavy hammering on the palace gate. They then leapt up in haste, and commenced firing on the Swedes, but without execution. Bengt Bjugg next hoped to make his escape by a private passage between the palace and the church ; but it was built of wood, and the Swedes shot burning fir arrows, both at it, and at the Archbishop's palace. He now found flight no easy matter, and therefore took a desperate resolution, that of throwing fire on the town ; when the Swedes were occupied in extinguishing this, he threw open the gates, and rushed out with his men on the way to Stockholm. He broke through the Swedish peasants, and followed by his bravest men, hurried towards Flotsund ; he was however closely pursued, and at last struck by an arrow which went deep into his elbow. Notwithstanding he contrived to make his way to Stockholm, where the barber, (the only surgeon then known) managed at last to get out the arrow ; but Bengt Bjugg died almost immediately after, of this severe wound.

CHAPTER XI.

GUSTAVUS WASA AND GUSTAF TROLLE.

THREE weeks after the event mentioned in the last chapter, Gustavus Wasa arrived at Upsala. He went *to the chapter-house, and there made a serious and severe oration to the assembled canons. He represented to them their own and their Archbishop's continual disloyalty to the kingdom and its natural Governors, and promised them that if they followed the same plan with him, they should certainly not go unpunished. "Am I to consider you," he asked, "as Danes or Swedes? Will you swear loyalty to me and the kingdom, and show yourselves as faithful Swedish subjects?"* The terrified canons asked permission to write to their Archbishop to hear his opinion. To this Gustavus consented, and sent by the same messenger a letter to Gustaf Trolle, in which in serious but respectful terms, he exhorted him to think of the welfare of the kingdom, and contribute to rescue it from oppression and misery. A priest carried the letters to Stockholm. "I shall bring Gustaf Eriksson the answer myself," said the Archbishop when he had read them. The messenger was imprisoned; and with three thousand infantry and five hundred horse, Trolle immediately set out for Upsala.

Gustavus Wasa was sitting at supper when a deserter from Trolle's party entered in haste, and related that the Danish army was but three miles from the town. He would not, however, believe this; another soon followed confirming the report of the first, and bringing along with him sixteen horses which had been taken from Trolle's people. Still he was not to be persuaded; but an hour after one of his own spies returned and brought the same news. Gustavus had but seven hundred infantry and one hundred cavalry with him, his peasants having got leave to return home and sow their fields.

He afterwards confessed that had Trolle then, without delay, attacked the town, he would himself have shared the fate of Bengt Bjugg; but the Archbishop was fortunately persuaded that Gustavus had the whole Swedish army with him, and therefore did not venture an immediate attack, but permitted his people to rest that night three miles from the town. Early in the morning Gustavus rode up the high sand hill on which the Castle of Upsala now stands; he thence in the light of the rising sun watched the enemy marching, pass Dannemark Church, and saw that resistance with his little troop would be vain; he therefore thought it most advisable to retire till he should have re-assembled his peasants. When Trolle heard this, he sent Staffan Henrikson, a bold warrior, with two hundred cavalry in pursuit of the Swedes, whom they overtook at Låby Ford. The infantry were already over; Gustavus himself was in the midst of the stream with his body-guard, when one of them seeing the enemy in pursuit, set up a loud cry of alarm, and rode over Gustavus and his horse. The cavalry still waiting to cross, seeing the danger of their leader, turned to receive the pursuers with such vigour, that Staffan Henrikson returned to Upsala with the loss of seventy men. Gustavus got safe out of the water, and this peril. He re-assembled his peasants and pitched his camp at Rymningen Forest; and this is the first and last time that Gustavus Wasa ever showed credulity and imprudence.

Gustaf Trolle did not await his return, but marched back with his troops to Stockholm; and Gustavus informed of this sent Lars Olsson and Eriksson with a choice body to lie in ambush for him at Lindesund Mills. The brave Staffan, however, saved Trolle by his vigilance; ever on the alert he rode before the troops, noting every mark on their path, and not far off the road discovered the remains of an ox lately

killed, which the Swedish soldiers had been eating. Suspecting that there was something under this he galloped back to Trolle, and the whole party pursued another route to Stockholm, thus avoiding the ambuscade of the Swedes. These, enraged that their enemies should have escaped them, followed with the greatest energy; they were warmly received, but the valour of the Danes was fruitless; they were forced to flight, and were hotly pursued. Lars Olsson noted Trolle as he rode; he galloped towards him, and when sufficiently near slung his sword with all his might at the Archbishop, who bowing himself hastily on his horse's neck, the sword flew over his head, and struck a courtier riding before him. Thus Trolle escaped to Stockholm, but scarce a seventh of his troop remained, so great was the loss he had sustained. He was but ill received by the Danish lords, Didrik Slaghök and Beldenack, who reproached him first for having permitted Gustavus Wasa to escape from Upsala and afterwards for leaving that town himself without any necessity. Thus the proud Gustaf Trolle was obliged to put up with the reproaches and contempt of these favorites of Sigbrit; the traitor to his country was despised even by those whom he sought to assist.

Some days after Gustavus Wasa arrived with his army before Stockholm. He marched to the northern side, and lead them up on the high sand-hill, called Brunkeberg, on which many gallows remained standing from the murderous day which followed on Christian's coronation, and on which yet hung the bodies of Swedish men. Gustavus turned to his followers: "There you see," he said, "the traces of Danish Government." The gallows were speedily broken down, and the bodies laid to their long-denied rest in the bosom of their mother-earth.

CHAPTER XII.

STAFFAN HENRIKSON.

DALARNA, Helsingland, Gestrikland, Westmanland and Upland, were now free from the enemy except a few Castles which they yet held; and the rest of the kingdom having heard of Gustavus' success, rose by thousands against the detested foreigners; none would protect, none help them; all sought their destruction; resistance was vain. The Danes soon saw themselves shut up in the Castles which were still theirs, and every attempt to leave them was severely chastised. But at a time when cannons with which to carry on sieges were scarce, these fortresses with their thick and lofty walls could defy superior numbers; and the enemy secure in their towers, cast contemptuous glances on the vain and absurd attempts of the peasantry to besiege them.

Of this description were especially the Castles of Stockholm, Nyköping and Calmar; Stockholm however the largest, strongest, and most important, was garrisoned besides by numerous and experienced troops who had their partisans and spies even in Gustavus' army. Four courtiers who had before been in the service of Bishop Otto Swinhufwud had lately joined him; and having succeeded in gaining his confidence, had learnt his strength and his plans. They deserted the morning after his arrival at Brunkeberg, nor was their flight remarked till they were at some distance, and the Danes had let down the drawbridge to help them over the North stream. The active Lars Olsson rushed on their traces with such speed, that they were obliged to leap off their horses, throw themselves into the stream, and swim across it into the town. Lars Olsson returned to the camp with their horses, and two deep wounds on his forehead, the scars of which he never

lost, for the Danes had saluted him from the tower with stones and arrows as he hurried forwards towards the drawbridge.

Shortly after they made a sally from Stockholm and attacked the Swedish camp at Brunkeberg from two sides. After half a day's fight, the Swedes were obliged to give way, and Gustavus let them pitch their camp at Rotebro; but Staffan Henrikson managed even there to annoy them. He rode out with a great body, of which he concealed the greater part in Sollentuna Church, and himself with only forty horsemen and a few soldiers approached the Swedish camp. A skirmish ensued, and when some of the Danes were slain, Staffan shouted to his men to fly, for all was lost! On which they turned about. Lars Eriksson, for the attack had been made on his division, pursued hotly with his men; but no sooner had Staffan succeeded in drawing them out on the plain than he wheeled round and gave a sign which called forth his whole ambuscade. Thus surrounded, the Swedes suffered a severe loss; their leader alone, with the poor remnant of his troop, succeeded in cutting their way through, and regaining the camp at Rotebro.

Gustavus's losses were, however, soon repaired. The Helsingars came to his aid, together with sixty German troopers under command of Stephen Saxe, the Westphalian, whom Christina Gyllenstjerna had before called in. At this period, Gustavus Wasa experienced the hardest trial which any human being could be called to undergo. He received letters from Christian with threats that if he did not cease his rebellious undertaking, his mother and sisters, who were prisoners, should pay for it by their lives; and the more obstinate his attack upon Stockholm, the greater sufferings should these prisoners have to endure. Secret messengers, also despatched by Christian, but who were to pass themselves as coming from his mother, implored

Gustavus in the most moving manner to spare her and his sisters' lives. They described how these ladies were themselves obliged to sew the sacks in which they were to be drowned; they told of the most horrid tortures which the Lady Cecilia was to be put to on her son's account. But these attempts were all in vain. If Gustavus submitted, Christian's promises were not to be relied on, and his own death and that of his relatives was almost certain; the only means to save them was to conquer the tyrant. His country too was dearer than any private tie; therefore, with a bleeding heart, he rejected these overtures, and looked but on his one grand object, the deliverance of Sweden. Christian was unworthy enough to put his threats into execution; the imprisonment and treatment of the women became worse than before; the greater number of them, among whom was Gustavus Wasa's mother, died as has already been said of want and neglect.

CHAPTER XIII.

GUSTAVUS WASA ADMINISTRATOR.

GUSTAVUS, meanwhile, was in continual activity: his troops were distributed throughout the country occupied in besieging the Castles the Danes yet held, and the strongholds of some Danish-hearted noblemen; but as they were inexperienced in the art of conducting sieges, and skilful commanders were scarce, his chief resource was himself. He therefore had to hurry from one place to another, instructing, encouraging, and exercising the troops; but while he cared for their every want, taking the strictest measures to prevent their committing depredations, thus he was seen in turn at each siege: his counsel was wanted everywhere, and nowhere did he fail to come.

But much remained to be done. None of the

Bishops had declared for him, and their decision was not only important in itself, but in the influence it would have on the first houses of the nobility to which they belonged; the inferior Clergy followed their example, and the people again, did what they were enjoined by these. Besides this, their residences were strong Castles, manned by numerous and brave garrisons which their princely revenues enabled them to maintain. Amongst these, Hans Brask, in Linköping, enjoyed the most importance, being learned, prudent, active, and influential, skilled in the history of his country, careful of its glory and well-being, but considering both to be indissolubly attached to the Roman Catholic faith. Every eye was fixed upon him waiting to see which party he would, at this juncture, embrace. But Hans Brask sat still in his old Castle of Munkeboda,* where the Motala river falls into Lake Roxen, and looked out on what was passing around him. He neither chose, nor dared to take the part of the savage and inhuman Christian; but his penetrating glance discovered, in Gustavus Wasa the future foe of monks, the strong-handed monarch who would suffer his power to be encroached on by none; therefore neither to him would Hans Brask lend any support.

The summer of 1521 was passed by Gustavus Wasa in East Gothland at the siege of Stegeborg. He spoke to Arwid Westgöthe of the necessity of gaining Hans Brask to their cause. "It will cost," said the ardent Arwid, "but a day's journey to Munkeboda, and the affair will be presently settled;" but the prudent Gustavus was not for driving Brask to extremities: he therefore wrote to him describing the state of the country, setting forth Christian's crimes, and added that if the Bishop did not please himself to come to him and personally give his opinion, he might soon

* It is now called Norsholm.

expect visitors at his Castle ; at the same time he broke up his camp before Stegeborg, and with a chosen body marched towards Munkeboda. The Bishop no longer dared to resist ; when Gustavus approached he advanced towards him ; they met at Skarkind parsonage, where he swore him fealty, gave him a number of his retainers, and showed him all manner of devotion.

With better certainty of success, Gustavus now appointed a Diet in Wadstena for the 24th of August. Thirty noblemen presented themselves there whom Norrby had protected at Calmar, but who had made their escape on hearing that Christian had given him, as well as his other commanders, strict orders to behead the Swedish nobles they might have in their power. Many of the inhabitants of the middle and southern provinces also attended the Diet. The joy was general at their deliverance from the tyrant, as was their gratitude to their deliverer. Many of the peasants began already to shout that Gustavus should be their King ; but this he prudently rejected. Not till Christian and the Danes were finally expelled from the kingdom, he said, would the time be come to seek a King. Neither had he undertaken this war with the meaning or intention of gaining the royal name, but for the sake of the kingdom and its inhabitants, and would they promise one and all, and each in his province, to give him manly and faithful assistance in delivering the country from a foreign yoke, he would remain their Captain, and do his best.

The assembly voted this with upstretched hands ; and he was thus appointed Administrator of all Sweden.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DELIVERANCE OF THE LAND.

AFTER this Diet, success became more general. Gustavus, as legitimate Administrator, gained greater

consideration; the people put more confidence in themselves, and the enemy saw their hopes daily decrease. The Chapter of Skara irritated against Didrik Slaghök who had been forced upon them as a Bishop, gave up his Castle of Läckö without much resistance, which example was soon followed by four others of importance. Anders Persson of Strö, the same who had vanquished Peter Uggla at Köping, no longer able to defend Örebro, surrendered the Castle to Olof Bonde, and was himself taken into Gustavus's favour; the peasants, however, could never forget nor forgive his former cruelty, and six years afterwards they fell on him, and murdered him at his estate of Strö. The Castle of Engsö was taken and razed to the ground; its owner Knut Sparre in vain sought to defend Westerås, of which he was Governor, and where, as he was one day going in his wolf's skin coat round the walls, a ball from the Swedish camp struck him in the middle of the forehead, and he fell dead into the river which rushed below. After many violent struggles, the Castle was also taken, and the whole country thus freed from enemies, save Stockholm and Calmar the two chief fortresses in Sweden which were still in their hands, besides Åbo, and some other Castles in Finland. These remained long in their power, for Severin Norrby whose ships were ever cruising in the Baltic was on the alert to provide them with troops and provisions, while the Swedes were in want of everything wherewith to carry on a siege.

Gustavus had before this sent Nils and Bengt, the brothers of Arwid Westgöthe, to Finland with some troops; but on their arrival they found that the Danish forces had already suffered much by the means of Nils Krabbe, a Finnish noble much renowned in his day. Cruising about in his small island boats, generally

accompanied by but twelve or sixteen men, he ascertained the plans and resorts of the Danes; fell upon them at night unawares, placed great beams before the doors; fired the houses in which they had quartered themselves, burnt them to death, or cut down great numbers of them. When they assembled in pursuit of him he ran to his boats, saved himself among the islands, or in case of necessity, sailed to the Skares of Esthonia; but he was soon back again to recommence the same skirmishes, and in this manner is said to have mastered several hundred men with his sixteen alone. His very name was a terror to the Danes, who at last took refuge in the fortresses seeking safety there from so terrible an enemy; and in this way the country was soon cleared of them. Siege was now laid to the Castle of Åbo by Nils Westgöthe. Its commandant was Junker Thomas one of King Christian's officers, brave and dauntless, but like his master in cruelty. When the renewed orders came for the extermination of the Swedish nobles, he fulfilled these injunctions to the letter, so that old Hemming Gadd who had so much contributed to Christian's success, bowed his head at Tawasthus beneath the axe. This Junker Thomas made several fortunate attempts against Nils Westgöthe, in one of which he made Bengt, the brother of Nils prisoner. The following day he hung him, together with several other Swedish nobles, in the sight of the besiegers on the walls of the Castle. The efforts of the Swedes to drive him out proved vain.

Junker Thomas met with his end in the following manner. He was sent by Norrby with recruits to Stockholm in July, 1522, and having arrived at Furusund, despatched a small vessel in advance to pilot the way. Erik Fleming with the Swedish fleet lay behind some islands, and mastered this vessel so secretly that

Thomas heard nothing of the matter. The men were replaced by a Swedish crew who put on the clothes of the Danes, after which the vessel was steered towards Junker Thomas again, who when he saw it return, in his eagerness for tidings jumped into his long boat and rowed towards it. The Swedes were silent, and held themselves prepared. When Thomas reached the boat he asked if all were well: "All well," they answered; on which he set one foot on board, but at the same moment remarking the strange faces, perceived his mistake. He attempted to leap back into his boat, but was held fast and fettered by the Swedes, with silence and dispatch. After this they turned the vessel and sailed into the straits again, which being perceived by the Finnish fleet, they imagining that Junker Thomas was steering, followed on its traces, and soon found themselves entirely shut up by the Swedish fleet. Every vessel was taken; one alone, called the Finnish Prince defended itself the whole day; the Swedes set it on fire at last, and it burnt down to the water's edge with its cargo and crew on board. Junker Thomas had been guilty of too much cruelty to receive pardon from Gustavus; he was carried to Tunnelsö, and there hung on an oak. When he saw the preparations for his death, that which vexed him most was, that they had not considered him worthy of a tow rope, and he was to be hung with a hempen one.

CHAPTER XV.

ARWID WESTGÖTHE AND SEVERIN NORRBY.

ARWID WESTGÖTHE meanwhile had marched down to East Gothland, and collected an army with which he laid siege to Stegeborg. Severin Norrby with several vessels soon followed by sea to raise the siege and

furnish the Castle with provisions; but the valiant Arwid, though he had but thirty-eight horsemen, and three companies of foot soldiers, attacked the Danes before they had got into order, and that with so much vigour, that the enemy and their brave commander were obliged to throw themselves with their horses into the water, and seek safety in their boats. A Swedish man-at-arms called Knut the Little, rode far into the water in pursuit of Norrby, and gave him four hard blows with his steel bow on the helmet, wishing thus to force him to surrender. Norrby, however, was rescued by his own people; but scarce had he got into the boat, before he offered the Little Knut the pay of ten men if he would enter into his service; a hero himself, he knew how to value heroes; but Knut valued faith and country more than gold and Norrby's proposals were not accepted.

After Norrby had removed the Swedish officers at Stegeborg, whom he suspected, replacing them by Berendt von Melen, a German, he sailed away to further in other places the cause of his King.

Arwid Westgöthe, however, continued the siege with vigour, and on the 21st of December, 1521, Berendt von Melen was obliged to give up the Castle; after which he entered himself into Gustavus' service. Some days after, on Christmas Eve, Severin Norrby entered the Skåres with his fleet, intending to re-furnish the Castle with provisions and fresh troops. Arwid Westgöthe aware that Norrby was unacquainted with the change that had taken place, determined by a stratagem to master his whole host. At Etterssund, the neck of the bay which runs into the Castle, he feigned a strong resistance as if he feared Norrby would assist von Melen; however the latter at last succeeded in breaking through and approached Stegeborg; a boat

with four men was sent foremost who set a hat on the top of a long pole, lifting it up in the air as a sign to the garrison ; but as they approached the Castle, one of the soldiers ignorant of the plan, shot at the hat and brought it down. The avant-couriers suspecting treason, returned to Norrby with speed informing him how matters stood. But for this incautious shot, without a doubt both he and his people would have been taken prisoners ; however, their return cost them dear. The Danes lost more than six hundred men before they managed to fight their way through Etterssund, which Arwid now defended in full earnest. The Swedes lost but thirty men. Arwid was enraged that Norrby should have escaped him ; but his men returned within the walls, made themselves merry with all manner of Christmas fare, which they thought they had deserved by their tough tilt with the enemy.

CHAPTER XVI.

SIEGE OF STOCKHOLM.

DURING the winter of 1521—22, Stockholm was encircled by a number of camps. Peter Fredag, who had his on Lof-isle, and shut up all communication from Lake Mälär, proved the most active antagonist the Danes had to contend with. The same Christmas Eve on which Arwid Westgöthe and Severin Norrby had had their bloody game at Stegeborg, they determined to make an attack on Peter Fredag, and taste, as they said, of his Christmas cheer. They rowed there in the darkness of night with fifteen hundred men ; but he luckily had heard before-hand of their enterprise, and therefore held his troop, though consisting of only four hundred and fifty men, in readiness. To sixteen of them he distributed hunting horns, and placed them

here and there among the rocks desiring them, as soon as they heard the alarm sounded in the camp, to blow their horns and make as much noise as they could. The Danes rowed softly to land, and softly they were getting out of their boats, expecting to surprise and make an end of Peter Fredag and his company, when he, before they had got into any degree of order, sounded the attack and rushed upon them with his warriors. His horns were answered by others from the rocks and forests, so that the mountains and islands echoed again. The Danes finding the Swedes prepared, believed there was a troop for every horn, and imagined themselves betrayed. Instead of attempting resistance, they hastened back to their vessels; but it was dark and the Swedes pressed hard upon them; two hundred men were cut down, many were hurried into the water and drowned, and the rest in a miserable plight made their way back to Stockholm.

The state of that place was deplorable. Didrik Slaghök who had the chief command in Sweden, proud of his high estate, cruel and mean besides, was hated by the Danes, but still more by the Swedes, who saw in him the instigator of the Blood-bath of Stockholm. The Danes imagined that the insurrection would cease if this man were punished; he therefore pretended to go into prison, and his authority in Sweden was thus at an end; but at the same time there was an end also to all discipline in the town. The foreign soldiers not receiving their pay, wandered about committing every manner of depredation. Gregorius Holst with eighty Germans did as he pleased with the burghers, who dreading the same fate that had met their brothers at Kåpplinge, made their escape in great numbers. The houses stood empty; no provisions were brought to the town, and exhortations to the peasants on the

subject, or promises of large payment remained without effect. The garrison then sent one named Heidenstrup to Christian to inform him of their condition, complain of Slaghök and ask assistance. Heidenstrup arrived towards evening, and set forth his errand. We are not told what answer Christian gave to his representations; but Sigbrit, enraged that any one should dare to complain of her relative and favourite, ordered the innocent man to be hanged without delay, which was executed with such promptitude that it took place the same night by candle-light.

In this extremity, Gustaf Trolle wrote to the Administrator warning him of Christian's power, defending his conduct, and proposing terms. "I know full well, Reverend Father," answered Gustavus Wasa, "how matters stand with King Christian. He has else to do than to come here; and it would be better for your Grace to live in Sweden, a Lord as you are, than fly to Denmark with scorn and contempt." The stiff-necked Trolle however despised these words, and soon after accompanied Slaghök and Beldenack to Copenhagen, where Gustavus Wasa's words proved true. Christian received him ungraciously. "An Archbishop," he said, "when he is besides of a house of importance like yours should have remained and supported his party." He even reproached him with being the cause of the whole rebellion, from the hatred that was borne him. With this, and much more, proud Trolle was obliged to put up, and live besides on the favour of Christian and foreign noblemen, for he never returned to his own country.

The brave generals, Lars Olsson and Eriksson, had been promoted to the command, the former of Norrland, the latter of Dalarna; the new leaders of the siege of Stockholm were not in unity among themselves,

so that they were beaten by inferior numbers in a sally of the Danes. In March 1522, Severin Norrby arrived with his usual supplies of men and provisions, after which, they made a fresh sally on the camp at Järfva and caused the Swedes great loss. Gustavus hastened thither and placed new commanders; but a few days after the Danes made a second attack, and utterly destroyed this camp after having cut down or dispersed the soldiery. The following day, the camp before the southern suburb (Södermalm) was no better treated. It was Sweden's good fortune that Christian was unable to support his brave warriors.

CHAPTER XVII.

TREACHERY OF THE LÜBECKERS.

AFTER a delay of some weeks, Gustavus had renewed his camps, and this time they were better fortified; he had besides called in the assistance of foreign troops more versed than his own in the art of war. Stockholm was again afflicted with great dearth, and it was at this time that Junker Thomas was to relieve it, when he was taken prisoner by Erik Fleming, as we have before related. However, Gustavus found it was vain hoping to master the city, as long as Severin Norrby could garrison and victual it as often as he pleased. He, therefore, asked and received some vessels from Lübeck; fifteen large ships well-manned, and commanded by Admiral Bruu, came to Stockholm and joined the little Swedish fleet under Erik Fleming. In the autumn, Norrby again arrived with merely five ships to revictual Stockholm; the united fleet was thus by far more numerous than his, and the wind besides being contrary prevented him from getting out. The Swedes rejoiced at the prospect of making an end

of this dangerous enemy, sailed straight on Norrby; the Lübeckers followed, but Brun of a sudden ordered his vessel to cast anchor; Fleming asked the reason, and was answered that a sunken rock lay in the way of the large vessels. Too weak to attack Norrby single-handed, he begged and implored Brun for assistance, but the latter had no idea of bringing the war to so speedy a termination when his services would cease to be required; and this was the sunken rock which lay in the way and prevented his advance. A strong frost coming on, the ships froze in. The Swedes wished now to attack Norrby on the ice, who would probably even then with his men have been made prisoners, but Brun refused all help, saying: "He had never heard of an army marching on the sea, and that it was a thing he could not be answerable for to the Senate of Lübeck." The Swedes were mad with anger; some rushed up a high rock in the neighbourhood whence they attempted to destroy the Danish vessels by flinging stones, others marched forward towards them seeking to fight hand to hand. Gustavus hearing how matters stood arrived soon after, but even his representations were thrown away upon Brun. A violent storm followed, which broke up the ice, so that this opportunity was also lost. Meanwhile, the wind continuing contrary, Norrby was still unable to retire. Gustavus then took possession of a high rocky island, whence with culverins and swivel-guns he sought to annoy the enemy; but this small ammunition was not able to effect much. He next sent to Brun and asked the loan of two cannons from his ships, with which to fire on Norrby's vessels. Brun refused. Gustavus offered him two of the strongest Castles in the country as pledges, but without avail—the wind changed and Norrby sailed off unhurt. Gustavus was

obliged to put up with this affront in silence, for the friendship of Lübeck was yet too indispensable. But he did not forget it; on the contrary, in the bottom of his heart he treasured it for another day.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHRISTIAN'S DEPOSITION.

ALL this time was Christian living in the most inconceivable carelessness about Sweden and its concerns; the former wars had emptied his coffers, and he left his people there to manage as best they might.

In the year 1522 he issued a code of laws for all Denmark, and introduced in it remarkable changes. For instance, the peasants had before been bought; sold, and treated like brute animals. Christian desired that every man should be his own master, by which means he irritated the great Lords. He retrenched the power and riches of the clergy, and even encouraged the doctrines of Luther, by which means he excited the Romish prelates to fury. He desired to advance the commerce of the burghers, and granted the Dutch prerogatives for trading in the kingdom; this incited the Lübeckers against him. These changes in themselves both wise and important, but difficult to introduce, he rashly undertook altogether, and sought to drive them through by violent means. Besides this, he commenced a quarrel with his uncle, Duke Fredrick of Holstein. In Sweden he was detested; and the very peasants in Denmark, too ignorant to understand how powerfully he was advancing their future weal, were turned from him on account of the heavy taxes he imposed upon them. He found devotion, respect, and confidence nowhere; everywhere hatred, contempt and fear. Even foreign Princes detested him, and

would not lend their aid to the blood-stained tyrant. A papal legate arrived to examine into Christian's cruelties which were not to be concealed; he to excuse them in some degree, and throw the greater part of the odium off his person, determined, however unwillingly, to accuse Didrik Slaghök, his own, and Sigbrit's favourite as the originator of the Blood-bath of Stockholm. Slaghök, just elevated to the Archbishopric of Lund, was called over to Copenhagen, examined by torture, condemned, and carried out, first to the gallows, and thence to a pyre on which he was burnt alive. Christian left the town during the time, and Sigbrit locked herself up, and screwed her shutters up; neither of them were able to contemplate the miserable end of their favourite.

The cowardly and faithless sacrifice of a devoted servant, was, however, ineffectual to regain to Christian the hearts of his people, who abhorred him still not less than before. The Lübeckers made an exterminatory invasion on the coast of Zealand and Skåne. Christian repulsed them in the beginning with the assistance of the peasants, but unable to depend upon his people, foreign troops were called in, and money was the next thing wanting for their pay. He therefore summoned a Diet in Kallundborg on the 10th of December 1522, which few attended. Christian, in anger, appointed a new meeting for the 24th of January in Århus, but a report spread that at Sigbrit's instigation he there intended to make a similar butchery of the Danish nobles, as he had of the Swedish at Stockholm; that chains were to be carried along with him, and disguised executioners were concealed among his guards, as also that a new impost was to be levied on the peasants. The nobility of Jutland now assembled at Wiborg, and determined to renounce their allegiance to Christian,

and offer his crown to his uncle Fredrick, Duke of Holstein. Herr Magnus Munk took on himself the dangerous charge of delivering this momentous document to Christian, whom he set out to join, and they conversed and drunk together till late at night. When Munk was about to retire, he left his glove as if by chance, in which the sealed letter of renouncement lay, after which, instead of going to bed, he returned directly to his boat, which lay ready, and sailed over to Holstein, where Fredrick with joy accepted his offer of the crown. Early in the morning, one of the pages found the glove, and delivered it, together with the letter it contained, to Christian. It was a disagreeable surprise; he despatched his satellites to seize Magnus Munk, but he had vanished, and Christian's courage and counsel vanished as fast. He knew not what step to take. Instead of collecting the peasants, who yet remained faithful to him, with whom to fight the nobles, he sent a message to the latter acknowledging his faults, promising amendment and proposing a reconciliation. No one trusted his promises, and his offers were rejected. He now hurried to Copenhagen, rode round the streets praying and imploring the people with tears to help him, confessing his errors and vowing a change. The people unaccustomed to see a weeping and petitioning King were moved; Zealand and Skane swore him allegiance anew, but he idly wasted his time in Copenhagen. The wisest heads did not trust his words; the honest hated him; his former flatterers forsook him; no faithful friend was found who could counsel and help him; and the sedition only increased and gathered strength. He took at last a desperate step. Twenty large vessels well-equipped were lying in the port, with which he could long and effectively have defended himself and his capital, but he chose rather to avail himself of

them for flight. All the treasure he could lay hands upon, even to the gilt balls on the top of the spires, were carried on board. Sigbrit, who dared no longer show herself to the enraged multitude, was also carried down in a chest, and placed among his other valuables. Himself, his wife, his children, and some few faithful servants followed, and he hoisted sail on the 20th of April, 1523. When he saw his capital gradually decrease and disappear beyond the horizon, his grief and despair knew no bounds. It was then that Sigbrit, who had crept out of her trunk, offered to console him by telling him, "that could he no longer be King of Denmark, he might at all events become Burgomaster of Amsterdam," for his intention was to go to the Low Countries to seek help from the Emperor Charles. A violent storm dispersed his vessels, but at last he reached Antwerp in safety.

Thus did this King finish his reign as cowardly and contemptibly as he had ruled with arrogance and cruelty. The good institutions which he had sought to impose on his people by falsity and force, fell with himself. His successor Fredrick was obliged, for the sake of the clergy and nobility, to abrogate his code of excellent laws, which was even burnt as "a dangerous book contrary to good morals." The peasants became slaves and bondmen again; the Lords regained their former rights over them, "for which freedom," says Hvitfeld, a Danish author, "the memory of this King ought to be sacred to us and our posterity." Thus the Danish people were kept in slavery and in a contemptible condition even to our days; while on the contrary the Swedish peasantry under the Stures and Gustavus Wasa, fully reconquered the old freedom and consideration they had of old possessed, and have ever since retained; becoming thereby almost the first and most respectable in Europe.

CHAPTER XIX.

WAR FOR FREEDOM CONTINUED.

To occupy Christian in his own country that the sieges of Stockholm and Calmar might not be interrupted, Gustavus equipped two armies, the one of which under Lars Siggesson Sparre marched into Norway, of which the southern part submitted though it was afterwards reunited to Denmark. The other body under Berendt von Melen fell upon Scåne, but was forced to return after six weeks on account of the unmanageableness of the German soldiery, and the impassable state of the roads ; this attack, however, conducted to Christian's deposition. When the news of that event reached Gustavus, he determined according to the advice of the prudent Brask to avail himself of the occasion to reconquer Scåne, Halland and Bleking. Lars Sparre turned his forces towards Halland and conquered it. Berendt von Melen also crossed the frontier and subdued Bleking, but permitted two Danish Senators, Klass Bille and Axel Ugerup, to deceive him into a truce. "The affair," they said, "could be settled in a friendly manner by capitulation." When Bishop Brask heard this, he observed: "The Swedes have never gained anything with the Danes by capitulation;" nor did they this time either. Von Melen had let the opportunity of winning the cause by the sword slip out of his hand, and other attempts proved fruitless.

After Norrby as we have related (in Chap. xvii) had been driven out of the Stockholm Skåres, Gustavus was able to shut in the town more closely ; camps were pitched on four principal points, strong floating bridges defended by block houses and cannon united them, so that the avenues for importing provisions were closed to the town, while the besiegers, by means of these bridges, could hasten to any of the camps which might

be attacked. The situation of the Danes thus became difficult; they determined on attacking the southern camp, but here they had the valiant Peter Fredag again to encounter, who this time, as before, had gained knowledge of their plans, and in consequence shut himself and five hundred chosen men into St. Mary's Church. The Danes marched past and attacked the Swedish camp, where all was prepared for their reception, and a violent struggle ensued, when Peter Fredag rushed out of the Church and attacked them behind. Thus surrounded by superior numbers they were cut down almost to a man, and few succeeded in making their way back. This was the last sally they ventured to make; hunger had already made itself felt in the town, where but few citizens remained, for those who had been successful in making their escape had joined Gustavus. At last Henrick Slaghök and Gregorius Holst who headed the command, found themselves obliged to drive the monks, old men, women and children out of the town, and then proceeded in their attempts to annoy the Swedes in every possible way. A Dane hid himself in the caverns under Brunkeberg, and there struck false money resembling the Administrator's, but of lead; which was introduced into the Swedish camp. Its worthlessness was soon discovered; the people imagining themselves deceived loudly complained. Fortunately the traitor was soon taken up, forced in presence of the troops to confess his villany, and suffer its punishment: on which the mutiny was quelled.

In their great distress, the Danes at last determined on the following attempt. A bold and crafty man named Jöns Westgöthe was to assume the part of a deserter, gain confidence in the enemy's camp, set it on fire and take refuge again in the town; or, if that

did not succeed, attempt to make his way through the forests, inform Christian of their extremity and demand his aid. In the beginning all succeeded well, but a few days after, two officers who were deserters came to the camp; the one was Tord Bagge of Halland, and father of the celebrated James Bagge of whom we shall have more to say. Jöns' intentions were known to them, and by them revealed; he was seized in consequence, his person searched, and a bit of parchment found sewed in his stocking, on which Slaghök and Holst had written their names, as a proof to Christian that he was a true messenger. In the hands of the Swedes, it was proof sufficient that he was a spy, and as such he was executed without delay.

The Castle, however, held on till the spring was far advanced in the continued expectation of assistance. Norrby indeed was on his way thither, but receiving the news of the rebellion against Christian, hastened back to Denmark with his fleet, and the garrison was left in its need. The news of Christian's flight was soon brought to them, and then first these brave men offered to capitulate, but as they decided on giving up the Castle to the Lübeckers only and not to the Swedes, their proposal was rejected with contempt and the siege renewed.

The Castle of Calmar which had resisted so long, was about this time, the spring of 1523, taken by Arwid Westgöthe, and Stockholm alone of the whole country remained in the hands of the Danes, who seemed unable much longer to retain possession of a city which on account of its fortifications, its commerce, its situation in the centre of the country, deserved to be named as it then was, "The Heart of Sweden."

CHAPTER XX.

GUSTAVUS WASA BECOMES KING.

MEANWHILE everything throughout the land had been in the greatest disorder. Scarcely was there a Bishop or a Senator in the country till very lately, that is, till the autumn of 1522, when new Bishops had been appointed by Gustavus, viz. Master Knut in Upsala to replace Gustaf Trolle; Magnus Sommar in Strängnäs, after Beldenack; Harald Strömfelt in Skara, in the room of Didrik Slaghök; and Peter Sunnanwäder in Westerås to replace Otto Swinhufwud lately dead, who all became famous in the history of Gustavus' reign. The Senate was also furnished with new members in the next Diet held at Strängnäs.

As the country was now free, and little remained to be done against external enemies, Gustavus thought it was time to look to its internal administration. To this effect he summoned the Estates to a general Diet at Strängnäs in the beginning of June. The first and most important question was the choice of a King; however, this was not a matter difficult to decide. If envy and ill-will against Gustavus still existed in the mind of Ture Jönsson Roos, and some others of the old nobility, they dared not show it for fear of the people who almost worshipped the young hero; neither was there any one to be found whose services towards his country were so great, or who was equally capable of ruling it. Master Knut stood up before the assembled multitude and made a long speech in Latin, describing in many and manifold words the cruelty of the tyrant, the treachery of the Danes, and the necessity for Sweden to have a King. He then turned his speech on Gustavus Eriksson, describing his merits, his virtues, and proposed him for their King. Master Knut stopped and

seated himself. The people who did not understand a word of the discourse, comprehended at least that the reverend father had now spoke to an end, and even suspected the meaning. They began to cry and shout that Gustavus Eriksson should be their King, and not a dissenting voice was heard. But Gustavus listened gravely and thoughtfully to their flattering proposal; the misfortunes of Karl Knutsson, the anxious lives of the Stures passed in review before his mind; the poverty and disorder of the kingdom, the envy of the nobles, the power of the clergy, and the undisciplined habits which the peasantry had acquired during long wars; add to this foreign foes, especially the pretensions of the Danes; all threatened to make the life and government of the future King of Sweden no happier than that of his predecessors. Perhaps also he did not desire that posterity should reproach him with having striven for the crown:—enough, he refused to become their King. “He was already,” he said, “weary of the labours he had undergone, and they could choose from the old knights who were present.” But which should they choose? None had importance sufficient to become King. The Pope’s Legate, Johannes Magnus who was afterwards Archbishop, then arose and exhorted the people “to join their prayers to his, and not resist till they had persuaded Herr Gustaf to take on himself the burden of royalty.” All now began to speak and implore each in his own way: “Gustaf Eriksson,” they said, “had tried both riches and poverty, greatness and lowness; he knew both how to obey and how to command; he knew the country and its necessities; he alone possessed power and knowledge sufficient to govern it, strength and valour sufficient to drive out its enemies. He had at the risk of his own life rescued their lost fatherland; who had

deserved its love, respect and gratitude if not he? He must not now withdraw himself from the confidence of his people and his own high calling; was he not as if sent by Heaven to be the salvation of Sweden?" Thus they spoke and cried one after the other, each in his own fashion; some even sought by tears and on their bended knees to persuade him. Gustavus then could not, would not longer refuse; he acceded to their prayers, adding, however, with his usual seriousness, that it was "more in compassion for their oppressed and bleeding country than for any desire for this high dignity." With loud acclamations and outstretched hands, all swore him faith and allegiance; he deposed his royal oath, and the States drew up letters in which they made it known, that they "had chosen the invincible Prince and Lord, Herr Gustaf Eriksson for their only lawful and gracious King and master."

●After the close of the Diet, King Gustavus proceeded to Stockholm, where the Danish garrison which had been so long and valiant a resistance could hold out no longer. The gates were opened on the 21st of June, and the King sent Peter Hård to receive the citadel and make ready for his solemn entry.

This took place on Midsummer Eve, 1523. Riding on a tall and magnificently caparisoned horse, surrounded by knights and young courtiers in shining armour, and followed by a countless multitude, King Gustavus approached the town from the southern suburb. At the gate, he was met by the oldest and chiefest of the burghers who delivered him the keys of the town. With joy the citizens, long confined and oppressed, poured out to meet their freedom, their deliverer, and their advancing countrymen. These on their side entered with equal joy, many with tears saluting their paternal homes, the scenes of their

infant sports, the capital of their country. Friends found their friends again, relations their relatives, parents their children; the rejoicing was general and showed itself everywhere; but its testimonials were strongest round the youthful Sovereign. Round him, as he advanced, collected and crowded the ravished multitude saluting with loud acclamations the newly elected King, the deliverer amongst his rescued people, the Swedish sovereign to the capital of Sweden. He proceeded direct to the High Church, prostrated himself before the High Altar, and bowed there humbly and gratefully his knee before the Lord of Hosts who had granted peace and strength for the deliverance of his country. Here, for a sincere piety dwelt in the bosom of the pure-hearted King, here his spirit else so proud, humbled itself and implored with ardent prayers a continuation of the same grace, and strength to carry out the great work he had taken in hand. The well-being and might of Sweden then established, as well as the reverence and heart-felt gratitude of late posterity, prove that the prayers of the generous monarch found acceptance on high.

CHAPTER XXI.

SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY.

GUSTAVUS WASA was now indeed King of all Sweden; but how that kingdom should be governed and raised again to a state of power and consideration was a more difficult question. Considerable yearly revenues were necessary for the administration and defence of the country, to which ends the usual taxes were altogether insufficient. To lay new imposts on the peasantry was unlawful and cruel; more than a third of the kingdom, the peasantry, on the free estates

of the nobility and clergy, paid no taxes to the crown, and the rest were ruined. Neither could the burghers contribute anything, their commerce being oppressed by Lübeck. The nobility yet retained considerable fortune; but by the privileges of their class were free from any tax save that of arming, while in the hands of the clergy lay untold riches, consisting of gold, silver and ready money as well as immense estates which had been presented to churches and convents. These then were they who must contribute, unless the whole country were to go to ruin. To meddle with their privileges however was dangerous; the hatred of the clergy, the excommunication of the Pope, and the resistance and horror of the raw and ignorant multitude was sure to stand in the way at every attempt. Torkel Knutsson, Albrecht and Karl Knutsson had already fallen in similar trials; the Stures had never ventured on this difficult, almost impossible enterprise. Gustavus Wasa ventured; not in rashness, for his mind wanted neither the wisdom nor the clear-sightedness to perceive the danger; neither was it for the love of dangerous adventures, for prudence was his capital virtue; but he saw that till the power of the clergy was crushed, all efforts for the weal of Sweden would be imperfect and even vain. This then was the aim he set firmly before him, and he laboured to attain it with a perseverance which sacrificed all to it, with a prudence or boldness according as the occasion required which yet excites our highest admiration. Let those who refuse Gustavus Wasa courage, because he did not venture his life in small combats and skirmishes, reflect that by this undertaking he exposed himself to equal dangers (for it was impossible but that his life should be attempted by murderous means), and to cares, anxieties, and difficulties by far greater than those that fall to the share

of the most warlike King. Neither may others accuse him of hardness and impiety for venturing to undertake such a change. At Lübeck he had studied Luther's writings, and became convinced of the errors of papistry. A clergy who lived in vice and luxury, a doctrine which rested on the ignorance of the people and sold the forgiveness of sins for money, deserved not to be spared.

CHAPTER XXII.

BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION.

THE first beams of that light which Luther had kindled in Germany had already spread across to Sweden. Olaus and Lawrence, the two sons of Peter, a rich smith in Örebro, had received their earliest education in the Carmelite convent of that town. According to the fashion of the day they afterwards went abroad to complete their studies. They soon heard of the growing fame of Martin Luther in Wittenberg; some loudly extolled him; others pronounced him to be the most pernicious heretic and sophist. The two brothers hastened with eagerness to hear such a celebrated man, nor did it require them long to listen to his words. They were soon convinced by his simple but powerful eloquence, as well as by the words of the Bible to the study of which he exhorted the numerous disciples who collected around him. They began diligently to study this book, whose perusal the Romish clergy so carefully forbid. In reading the Saviour's simple and sacred doctrines, scales fell as it were from their eyes; they saw the truth of Luther's words; the errors of the Romish creed. They had read the words of Christ that not he who calls "Lord, Lord, but he who does the will of my Father in Heaven," shall be

saved; and it was in vain longer to preach to them that by money, gifts to the Church, pilgrimages, fasts, the prayers of the saints, processions with the bones of martyrs and things of that kind, the forgiveness of sins could be obtained. They had read the Saviour's directions to his disciples: "Go out and teach all people;" and the Romish priests told them in vain that the people should be held in ignorance of God's word, and in its stead accept the explanations of the priesthood. They had read that all men are sinners, and the priests in vain sought to convince them that the Pope was immaculate. They had read the text which says: "The Lord thy God shalt thou worship, and him only shalt thou serve;" and they would not bow the knee to departed saints, or living prelates. They read the Holy Scriptures day and night; but they found no mention of fasts, pilgrimages, saints, convents, purgatory, and other things of the kind on which the Roman Catholics set much store; but on the other hand they found mention made of humility, purity of living, self-denial, mercy, and other qualities which they had seen often neglected. These high truths soon lighted a bright but steady flame in many hearts; and from Wittenberg, the disciples of Luther poured forth in every direction to preach like him the simple truths of the Bible, spite a thousand obstacles, a thousand persecutions—ay, often sealing with their blood the truth of their persuasion.

Among these disciples were the two brothers of whom we have already spoken. Olaus the eldest was bold, lively to an excess, perhaps bordering on violence; active, determined, learned, capable of defending his principles by his pen, still more so by his speech. Lawrence, the younger, was milder though not less zealous, a less eloquent speaker, but a greater author,

and more learned than his brother ; neither were to be moved from what they considered right. They were promoted by Luther in 1518 to the grade of *Magister*, Olaus being twenty-one, and Lawrence nineteen years old. The eldest had accompanied Luther on a tour of inspection through the churches and schools of north Germany, by which he profited much. Such were the men with whose assistance Gustavus Wasa introduced the Lutheran Reform into Sweden.

Immediately on their return in 1519, Olaus was nominated secretary of Bishop Matthias in Strängnäs, and overseer of the seminary in that place. He commenced disseminating the new doctrines and gained both partisans and opponents ; but the war soon after drew the general attention, and Olaus was permitted to teach in peace. In 1521, their father died in Örebro, and the brothers hastened home to his burial. It was found that he had willed away a field beyond the town to the Carmelite monks that they might read masses for the deliverance of his soul from purgatory, a will which the sons opposed as a needless superstition. Their mother wept and said : “ It was an unlucky day that they at much expence had begun to be learned, for they had by it been misled into such errors that they now grudged their father a bit of ground for the salvation of his soul.” The brothers tried to persuade her that the masses of the monks could in no wise conduce to the safety of their father’s soul, which must be judged according to its own deeds, and not the words of others. They asked her if she understood the mass in Latin, or what she thought of it. She answered : “ I do not understand it ; but while I listen to it, I pray God fervently that he will accept their prayers, which I do not doubt he will.” They satisfied her, however, at last ; but the monks presently arrived

to bury the departed according to his will. The brothers set them and their Latin missals aside, and buried their father themselves. The monks loudly complained to their Abbot; he to the Chapter of Strängnäs where no Bishop had yet been nominated; they again to Bishop Brask who in his turn referred the cause to the Pope, representing the brothers as the worst of heretics and atheists, and deserving of the severest punishment.

They however on their side continued at Strängnäs, and wherever they were, to preach and spread their doctrines, fearing neither the Chapter, Bishop, Pope, nor the power of any human adversary.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

THE dauntless Olaus Petri had presented himself at the Diet held at Strängnäs in 1523, and sought to expose the errors of Popery before the States. It caused much excitement, and reached the King's ears, who called for Olaus and his patron, the venerable and learned Laurentius Andreæ. They must now explain their sentiments before him, and it was impossible for him not to approve of what agreed so well with his own convictions and advantage; but he did not express himself openly yet for some time, fearing by gaining the name of a heretic to draw on himself the detestation of priests and people; he therefore appeared to take no part in these religious quarrels, but protected the new doctrines secretly, and for their further dissemination, placed Lawrence as Doctor of Theology at Upsala; Olaus as preacher in the High Church of Stockholm, and Laurentius Andreæ he nominated his own private secretary. Thus these three, each in his own province, were enabled to labour in the cause of truth.

Olaus, however, was the chief in this respect. A pulpit was built in the High Church, shaped like a basket, from which he with bold words and youthful zeal, set forth the errors and deceits of Popery, as well as the road to salvation which the word of God teaches ; and this in Swedish. The people accustomed to service in Latin, of which they did not understand a word, flocked around him, and heard his sermons with applause, doubt or horror, each according to his own feelings and convictions. Some monks also ascended the pulpit to contradict him, but Olaus, whose learning far surpassed theirs, who was besides defending the cause of truth, easily overcame them. Many pious but simple souls heard with alarm how that faith and those ceremonies were unsparingly attacked, which had so often excited their devotion and been their comfort in trouble ; their narrow comprehensions and the darkness in which they had been kept prevented them from being able to judge the new doctrine ; they considered Luther and his followers as hardened atheists, worse than heathens, and Olaus soon experienced this. He was often interrupted by his hearers in the midst of his sermons ; they abused him in the grossest terms, cast at him stones, sticks, or what they could lay hands on, so that it was at the risk of his life, and with the greatest difficulty that he escaped the attacks of the raw populace. But the next time he appeared again with equal courage, nothing could daunt him, or keep him from declaring the sacred cause he had at heart.

The Roman Catholics then determined by the weight of the King's authority to rid themselves of this dangerous adversary. Bishop Brask wrote to Gustavus that "he ought to expel the Lutheran heretics, and not permit their books to be introduced ; that he him-

self might have the good name of a Christian Prince." Gustavus replied: "That, I had given his kingly word to protect all his subjects, and must also inviolably keep it. That if any had committed a crime, the Bishop could pursue them according to law. That Luther's books were only condemned by his antagonists, and not by any competent court of judgment, and therefore could not be forbidden; as they were introduced together with the writings of the opposite party, men of discrimination could study both, and themselves find out what was right or wrong. For himself he trusted not to have acted otherwise than to merit the reputation of a Christian Prince, and he wished to know for what reason or cause he could be esteemed otherwise."

In spite of this assumed partiality, Brask was not slow to perceive the King's leaning towards the Lutherans; but he neither could, nor dared undertake anything further.

At the same time that the Romish creed was sapped by the new preachers, the King began, though prudently, to attack the power and great privileges of the clergy. At the Diet in Strängnäs, he had laid before the States an account of what was owing to the foreign mercenaries. These were, now that the war was ended, lying idle, and only occasioning disorder and mischief in the country. It was the general wish to be rid of such troublesome guests, and the States voted a contribution for the payment of their dues, but it proved insufficient. Gustavus then proposed that the clergy, who were free from all taxes, should make up the rest, that the kingdom might at once be delivered from this plague. The priests, however, objected, appealing to their spiritual privileges, though all the rest found the proposal very fair. Brask however refused, saying he

was ready to oblige the King in everything else, but the sacred possessions of the Church he could not diminish." Gustavus answered him civilly, calling him, "Gracious Sir," after the custom of the time. Brask refused again. Gustavus wrote another letter full of severity and threats. Brask paid, and the rest followed his example.

One of the newly nominated Bishops, Peter Sunnanwäder of Westerås, who had held the office of secretary to Sten Sture, the younger, but was even then known to have been an unfaithful steward of his goods, now determined to overthrow the presumptuous monarch, and elevate the young Nils Sture on the throne; thus hoping to revenge on the Sovereign who had infringed what he considered the rights of his order, and to become all-powerful under one of his own elevation. He therefore sent letters to Dalarna, setting forth how the Stures had been wronged when they had been passed over, and Gustavus elected whom he represented as a godless tyrant, and incited them to rebellion. These letters were industriously spread throughout the villages; but the faithful Lars Olsson got possession of them and sent them to the King, who, determined to meet such attempts with strength and resolution, mounted immediately, and accompanied by some Senators rode to Westerås. There he presented himself to the Chapter, and laid before the Bishop and the Canons, the insurrectionary letters signed by the Bishop's own hand. Peter Sunnanwäder grew pale, attempted to deny, but could not refute such clear proofs. Gustavus next demanded the judgment of the Council against the traitor. Sunnanwäder could have been condemned to death; but was only deposed. The newly-nominated Archbishop Knut, who retained his place as a Canon of Westerås, began violently to take the de-

posed Bishop's part, appealing to the canonical law by which the clergy could not be judged by laymen. Gustavus answered on the spot, that "he who wished to assist a deposed traitor, must himself be a traitor, for which reason he declared Archbishop Knut to be likewise deposed."

All marvelled and were silent. Gustavus spoke again. He desired the Canons to choose a successor to Sunnanwäder; but these excused themselves, saying: "that as there was a scarcity of men fit to make good Bishops, they required time to reflect," and more to the same purpose; their object being to gain opportunity to consult among themselves what step it was best to pursue in such unusual circumstances. But Gustavus left them no time for consideration and further conspiracies, but ordered them to decide; when it appeared that they were themselves unacquainted with any one fit for the office, he offered them the learned and esteemed Petrus Magni, then in Rome. The election was immediately carried through, and the votes fell on the man the King had named. Gustavus now took his leave of the Chapter, remounted, and rode with his Senators straight back to Stockholm, where he called the Canons from Upsala, and ordered them to choose a new Archbishop in the place of the deposed Knut. He was obeyed, and the choice fell on Johannes Magnus, the Papal Legate, whom the King had proposed to them.

These bold and powerful steps caused the utmost surprise and astonishment throughout the country. The priests were annoyed certainly at such summary measures, but ventured never a word against so energetic and strict a master in such a just cause. Even proud Bishop Brask wrote to Ture Jönsson Roos, "that he would rather be dead than fall under his Grace's (King Gustavus) displeasure."

CHAPTER XXIV.

BERENDT VON MELEN'S TREACHERY.

SEVERIN NORRBY, who zealously defended the deposed King Christian, was still in possession of Gothland; but time gradually revealed that attachment to his Sovereign was not his only motive. Wise and penetrating, he had long foreseen the fall of the latter, and intended in the event to set one of the spare crowns on his own head. He had especially fixed his eyes on that of Sweden. This was the reason of his protecting the Swedish gentlemen from Christian's persecutions; this was his motive in courting Christina Gyllenstjerna, so loved and revered in Sweden. With rage he saw himself superseded in his ambitious projects by Gustavus Wasa; but the troubles which soon broke out in Sweden gave him the hope of being able to accomplish his overthrow, and himself, as the guardian and step-father of the Stures, mounting the throne in his stead. Waiting for a suitable opportunity, he quartered himself on the neighbouring island of Gothland, where piracy was his chief occupation and means of support. He fell on and plundered all vessels passing that way, Swedes, Danes, English and Dutch; but the Hanseatic most of all. "It was his delight," he said, "to turn over their chests of goods, and smell at their spice-bags." He took the half of the booty for himself, gave the other half to his people, and then with empty ships suffered the merchant-men to sail away, begging them "to be soon welcome back again." Thus Norrby wasted the fame which, as a hero and a generous spirit, he had before acquired. He was feared, but also detested by all. Meanwhile, neither the Swedish nor the Danish King dared to attack him; each dreaded the uncertain issue of the combat, yet more that he would make over Gothland to the other.

Lübeck, which suffered most from his privateers, sought to persuade Gustavus to dislodge him; but this prudent King refused. The Ambassador, Herman Plönjes, presented himself at the Diet in Wadstena in 1524, urged an armament against Norrby, and made great promises of assistance. Still Gustavus refused, though Bishop Brask, to whose diocese Gothland belonged, urged its conquest. The Lübeckers then spread reports among the people, of how, spite the powerful support which was offered him, the King had refused the war. All wanted Norrby to be dislodged; the burghers whom he plundered, the peasants who missed their supplies of herrings and salt, the nobles who desired war; and some even bribed by the gold which Plönjes distributed. A general murmur was heard against Gustavus. "He who had expelled a King of three countries, was surely able to conquer a private commander; the Stures had never been afraid of any man." Thus spoke the people, and it was soon carried to Gustavus' ears. This was touching him on his tender side. He called the Lübeck Ambassadors up to the council, laid their offers and his own misgivings before it; but as the people desired it, the contract was agreed to, and the war determined.

The resolution taken was put into execution with promptitude. Extensive and expensive preparations were made, which the King aided by giving up his own plate to be coined; others, however, were to lend their assistance. Bishop Brask had to furnish a hundred armed men, and a sum of money besides. He had, Gustavus said, strongly urged this war, and would have as much profit of Gothland as the crown, as it appertained to his see. Eight hundred well armed men were soon ready, a great armament for that day; but leaders were wanting. The King could not leave the kingdom:

the Swedish gentlemen were unaccustomed to regular warfare and long sieges; the command was therefore given to Berendt von Melen.

This man, a native of Germany, had much experience in war in which he had been engaged from his youth. He was bold and brave; not wanting in prudence, but proud and self-willed. He had been before in Norrby's service, with whom he was nearly connected; but on his joining the Swedes, had been highly preferred by Gustavus, who had even given him one of his own relations in marriage, Margaret, daughter of the famous Erik Karlsson Wasa. It is said that Gustavus had been rather severe with this Lady Margaret in a matter of inheritance, and that it was she who had excited her husband against him; who, on his side, connected with the royal house of Germany thought himself as good as the new-crowned Swedish nobleman. Such was the leader to whom the conquest of Gothland was confided.

In the beginning he justified the King's choice. The island was taken possession of. Wisby the capital, with Wisborg its Castle straitly besieged, and Norrby's sallies repulsed. The town was to be stormed; but the supplies and shot requisite to this end had been by Norrby taken at sea. A new supply arrived from Lübeck; the German mercenaries then refused to storm till they had received the pay owing them for the last two months. In fourteen days it also arrived; they then refused to commence the attack before they had been paid for this fortnight also. Thus the delay increased from day to day, until at last a Hanseatic fleet arriving and attacking the town from the sea, Norrby perceived that longer resistance would be vain. He therefore sent a secret messenger to Fredrick, offering to abandon the ruined Christian, and deliver

up Gothland and its Castle to him, provided he might retain under him the same rank and authority he had before enjoyed. To this Fredrick willingly agreed; and Norrby showed the letters regarding this compact to the Lübeck Admiral lying before Wisby. When the Lübeckers perceived that his piracies, at any rate against themselves, would thus be at an end, they made a speedy retreat. It was all they wanted, and their promises to Sweden were cast aside; they far preferred seeing Gothland in the hands of the feeble Fredrick, rather than in those of the powerful Gustavus.

The assistance of the Danes was, however, long in coming; and Norrby fearing in the meantime to be reduced by the Swedes to extremities, proposed a truce and commenced treating with von Melen in the hopes of enticing him from his allegiance. He reminded him of their former fellowship, and that they ought not uselessly to shed each other's blood. He imparted to him his plans regarding Sweden, where, if successful, von Melen might aspire to much higher honours. He excited his envy of Gustavus, in which he was assisted by the Lady Margaret, who joined the camp at this time. Berendt was soon persuaded; he exchanged friendly visits with Norrby, feasted with him in the Castle, prolonged the truce, and neglected the cause of his Sovereign altogether.

One day he left the Castle and announced that the truce was at an end; at the same instant Norrby sallied forth at the head of his troops, and made great havoc amongst the unprepared Swedes. These assembled round von Melen's tent, threatened loudly, and promised him that the King should be informed of his conduct. He assured them that Norrby soon intended to give up the Castle, and implored them meanwhile to be still; and thus succeeded in drawing out the time of

the siege beyond that appointed by the two Kings in their meeting at Malmö (of which we have yet to speak) for its surrender. A message followed from the Danes, which according to the agreement of the Kings required the Swedes to retire. Gustavus sent the same order to his captains, "as they had neglected the proper time and done but little good;" and his words thus came true, both as regarded the faithlessness of Lübeck, and the ill-success of the war.

Berendt von Melen could well imagine, that after all this, he had little chance of a good reception from Gustavus; he was therefore in no hurry to appear before him, but went to Calmar of which he was Governor. Gustavus wrote in a friendly manner to him desiring him to come to Stockholm promising safe conduct, and the Senate did the same, but without effect. Two men of note were next sent to persuade the stiff-necked man. He answered that "he had no means of coming now: that in spring he would come by sea;" and with this haughty answer the messengers were obliged to return.

Von Melen now fortified himself as well as he could; placed his brother Henry as commandant of the Castle, and desired that it should not be given up into any hands but his own, on which he set sail for Stockholm. He sought by flattery and fair words to ingratiate himself with Gustavus, who not less cunning, met artifice by artifice, and promised Berendt Stegeborg Castle, by which means he hoped to get Calmar out of his hands. Berendt expressed himself satisfied, but said his men would certainly not give up the Castle unless he was himself present to speak to them. To this the King objected, saying that a letter from von Melen would be sufficient. Berendt then did write an order that the Castle should be given up, which letter was

sent by a messenger to Calmar; but Henry knowing his brother's secret wishes refused. The King was highly excited against von Melen; but he excused himself pretending to be much displeased with his obstinate servants, and promised that if he were himself allowed to ride to Calmar, he would settle the point. Permission for this journey was then granted, but the King caused his equerry Nils Eriksson Gyllenstjerna to accompany him, who received strict orders not to suffer Berendt out of his hands till the Castle was delivered over. Arrived at Calmar, von Melen ~~leaving~~ leaving hostages, went up to the Castle to prepare for its surrender, but soon returned saying, "his men could not bear that their master should not be able to come to his subalterns without providing hostages like a slave; but if without hostages, on his knightly word, he were permitted to enter the Castle, he promised to make it over on the morrow." The credulous Gyllenstjerna permitted him to go on parole as he had proposed, and spent the evening himself in merry-making with his friends, delighted at having so easily managed his King's business. But von Melen perceived that he had won the game. That very night he crossed over to Öland where the King had four companies of mercenaries lying in a temporary camp; these by promises of higher pay he induced to accompany him back to Calmar. Early the following morning, to make a show of obedience, the drawbridge was lowered, and Berendt von Melen presented himself as if to join the Swedes, but according to directions he had previously given, four of his soldiers rushed forward, caught hold of him and spite of his pretended resistance, dragged him back into the Castle, while the garrison at the same moment made a bloody attack upon the unprepared Swedes in the town. Nils Gyllenstjerna awoke

not so comfortably as he went to sleep, for startled unawares, he was obliged to escape in his shirt. His clothes and money were plundered by the Germans, and his greatest anxiety was how he should be able to present himself and answer for his credulity and disobedience before his stern Sovereign.

Berendt was certain that Gustavus would never contentedly let the matter stop here; he therefore assembled the German mercenaries in the neighbourhood, and informed them falsely, that the Castle and district of Calmar, of which the King now desired to regain possession, had been legally given to him as his wife, the Lady Margaret's dower; that from such a King they had neither pay nor justice to expect, both of which he roundly promised them. The soldiers swore him obedience, and marched into the Castle; but the citizens of the town, whom he also sought to seduce, remained faithful. He shortly after entrusted the Castle, and the young Nils Sture, a boy of twelve years whom he kept prisoner in it, to the care of Henrik Jute, an old and faithful servant of the Stures, devoted to them to the death, whom he persuaded that the whole sedition was made for their sake; thus misleading the old man's heart-felt and deep-rooted devotion to the defence of ingratitude and treason. This done, with his wife, his children, and valuables, he embarked and sailed back to Germany pursued by the Swedes to the shore, who cut down or made prisoners several of his servants. Berendt betook himself to Mecklenburg, of which the Duke Albrecht was Gustavus' enemy. The rest of his life he passed in the service of foreign Princes. Whoever declared himself Gustavus' opponent, to him von Melen joined himself. When peace was concluded with Gustavus, von Melen was obliged to flee. Neither peace nor quiet dwelling

place were ever more found by the contemptible traitor.

This treason however cost Gustavus dear, for the Castle had to be re-taken, and he marched down thither himself with a powerful force. One of the garrison was an old bald-pated gunner, so expert that he was thought to hold commerce with the Devil. As the Swedish cavalry defiled beneath the walls, he remarked Arwid Westgöthe as he rode, who being a tall man he mistook for the King. He pointed, and fired upon him with so good an aim, that the ball went through the bold Arwid's leg. The wound did not prove mortal; however four others of his companions fell in this ride before the old man's shot. Gustavus summoned the Castle, but in vain; he then caused entrenchments to be thrown up, and fired on it, but without effect; he next ordered a storm. The Swedes advanced boldly, but the Germans defended themselves as heroically; the old servant of the Stures, Henrik Jute fought for his young master like a youth, and all were fired by the old man's example. The Swedes were obliged to retire. Gustavus in anger reproached them with cowardice; doffed his mantle, and donned cuirass and helmet, determined to head the attack, take the Castle or fall before it. The soldiers blushed, implored him not to put them to that affront, and vowed to do their duty, or lose their lives before its walls. A new battery was now made to play on the northern bulwarks, which were Breached. The Swedes rushed to the second attack with the greatest vigour, but the besieged had made a deep moat within the fallen wall, where they defended themselves with desperation. They poured on the advancing enemy a shower of balls, stones and beams, fearless of certain death: neither did the Swedes avoid it. Of four hun-

dred marksmen, four only remained; the valiant Peter Fredag fell at the head of his troop; his men worthy of him, followed him in death as they had in life. Tears gushed out of Gustavus' eyes when he saw his brave men strew the ground, and none give way. He desired a retreat to be sounded; few were alive to obey the signal; and as evening was coming on, nothing more was done that day.

Henrik Jute had had but fifty men in the Castle, before whom so many Swedes had fallen; of these fifty the half however had perished, and the rest were so severely wounded that they could make no further defence. Early the following morning they demanded to capitulate, but were obliged to surrender at discretion, and the greater part were executed as traitors. Gustavus sought to protect and retain in his service the old gunner; but the enraged soldiery demanded that that ancient villain should go the same way as the rest. The King entrusted the Castle to Arwid Westgöthe, and rode sorrowfully away from this bloody field.

CHAPTER XXV.

KING GUSTAVUS AND KING FREDRICK.

SCARCELY was Fredrick nominated King of Denmark, ere he and the Senate began to meditate the old ambition of mastering Sweden; they therefore despatched a circular letter to the estates and commonalty of that country, proposing that he should be received for their King according to the union which had existed between the three kingdoms ever since Queen Margaret's time. Informed of this, Gustavus summoned a meeting in Jönköping, laid before them Fredrick's letter, and asked the opinion of the States regarding it. All hated the Danish union, and a speedy answer for Fredrick was

dictated and signed. It contained: "That they had elected King Gustavus for their Lord, and would remain steady and loyal in the faith they had sworn to him. King Fredrick might give up all thoughts of Sweden, for King Gustavus, with God's help, would take care both to defend and protect it."

With this answer Fredrick was obliged to be content, and rejoice that nothing worse came of it; for he had been at this time greatly alarmed at the preparations he heard the expelled Christian was making. The latter, with the aid of his German connexions, had collected an army of twenty-six thousand men with which he unexpectedly marched against Holstein, and in addition some of his men-of-war arrived in the Sound to provision Copenhagen which was yet in the hands of his party. To crown all other evils, discontent and threats were heard throughout the country, where the deposed King was loudly called for. The lower orders, the burghers and even the inferior nobility had found themselves sorely oppressed by the most powerful Lords and families who had regained their former privileges at Fredrick's coronation. But this great danger threatened and passed away with equal speed. When Christian was about to cross the frontier into Holstein, his mercenaries refused to follow till they had received their pay. He had thought to reward them by the booty they would acquire in their conquests, and had no money. He lavished great promises upon them, but the soldiers called for their wages only. Christian was obliged to conceal himself from their rage, and the next night made his escape in despair. The whole host broke up and dispersed. His friends in Denmark lost all hopes after this misfortune, and Fredrick saw himself for the moment at least secure.

This danger had, however, taken from him further

desire to expose himself to Gustavus' enmity. He wrote and demanded to treat on other subjects;—not a word was said of the Union.

At this time there were many who counselled Gustavus to avail himself of Denmark's embarrassments, to unite either Norway or Skåne, Halland and Bleking to Sweden. Brask in particular was urgent on this head, giving many reasons, and displaying much patriotism; it is also possible that he wished to see the King occupied in war, and thus without leisure for the internal improvements for which he had shown so much inclination. Gustavus did, indeed, make an attempt against Norway, but soon desisted; a happy, appeared to him better than a large, kingdom, and to save Sweden from the oppression and errors of a false religion, craved all his care and attention.

The Danes, however, could not so easily forget the Union and the pretensions which dated from that time. In the beginning of 1524, Gustavus received a letter from Fredrick and the Danish Senate, informing him, "that a meeting was fixed to take place in Copenhagen between the three kingdoms and the Hanse-Towns; they therefore kindly begged King Gustavus, either himself or by his Ambassadors to be present, that they might come to a good understanding for the advantage and eternal well-being of them all." Gustavus answered laconically: "That it seemed to him wonderful that Fredrick should appoint a meeting for the three kingdoms, without first consulting him, King Gustavus, on the subject." The meeting was never heard more of.

The Lübeckers at last persuaded both Kings to come to a conference at Malmö, where the difficulties should be settled regarding Gothland which von Melen was at this time pretending to besiege, together with Wiken

and Bleking which Gustavus retained since he had conquered them from Christian. Gustavus rode down accompanied by his chief Lords, and his new secretary, Laurentius Andreæ. On the road he spoke much with Ture Jönsson Roos, that he as an old and experienced man should, by the weight of his knowledge and importance, defend the just cause of Sweden; which Ture promised to do. But when they arrived at Malmö, the Danes hit upon the advice of informing him secretly that he should lose his estates in Norway and Halland if he ventured to plead the rights of Sweden to Gothland.

The Kings met at the Town-House surrounded by their principal Lords. Fredrick spoke first, and set forth the Union of Calmar and its advantages in many words, together with the deplorable effects of the latter feuds between the three kingdoms. He finished by proposing a new Union, under which Gustavus should remain King of Sweden, but "acknowledge the King of Denmark as supreme Lord of the North." Gustavus made to this an immediate answer. He represented how many times Denmark had herself broken the Union, and how disastrous it had ever been to Sweden; and added at last: "That as the Danes had hitherto been unable to subdue that country, there was less hope than ever that they should be able to do so now. For himself he was ready to have the Danish King for his friend and ally if he desired so to be; but for his supreme Lord—never!" This speech was delivered in such a voice, and accompanied by such gestures, that neither Fredrick nor any one else ventured another word on the score of supremacy.

The question of Gothland was the next. The Danish counsellors brought forward all the rights of their side which they could find. When they had

ended Ture Jönsson, according to the agreement made on the journey, was to defend the claims of Sweden. But Sir Ture thought of his wide possessions; he began to cough and to stammer, and could not get out a word. Laurentius Andreæ next rose to refute the arguments of the Danes; but Gustavus who before from Hemming Gadd, and latterly from Bishop Brask had learnt everything regarding this question, took up the cause himself, and showed so fully and clearly Sweden's right to the island, that none could gainsay him. After a short silence, an old Danish counsellor named Anders Bille arose, and asked to utter some true words in this affair. The Kings consented, and he began in the following manner: "Ye good Kings, and other honourable gentlemen here assembled, if you would speak the truth you must confess, that ye know the same as nothing at all of such old questions and affairs as ye have been now discussing; for you are one and all of you young men who cannot know or think anything very far back. Our gracious Sovereign King Fredrick has for the most part lived in Holstein, and not much in this country, for which reason his Grace can know very little, or nothing at all about it. Neither can King Gustavus of Sweden know anything of it, because he is a young gentleman. I may say for a truth, that there is none among you here who knows the case as it is, except Herr Ture Jönsson and myself—"

But here Gustavus promptly interrupted him, saying: "Take heed to your words, Sir Andrew Bille! Do you not know that a young man can inquire as far back as an old one can remember?" Sir Andrew was quite confused at this abrupt question, and lost the thread of his discourse. A violent debate now arose between the Swedish King and the Danish Lords;

Fredrick referred the case to others, pronouncing himself ignorant of its merits; but Gustavus would not withdraw an iota from what he could prove to be his right. When the Lübeckers perceived the scale was leaning in favour of Gustavus, whose power and influence they already feared, they threw their own into the balance, and he, not to draw on himself too many enemies at one time, conceded at last. He was to retain Bohuslän yet for a season; but was obliged to restore Bleking, and Gothland likewise, if the Castle of Wisby was not taken by the 1st September which every one knew to be impossible. Other questions were to be settled at a future meeting.

It was not with a cheerful mind that Gustavus agreed to these conditions. He was very angry, but chiefly against Lübeck who had deceived Sweden into entering on this unhappy expedition against Gothland. When he left the Town-House he saw where Herman Plönjes was standing, the same who at the meeting at Wadstena had allured the people, and walking angrily towards him, "Where now," he asked, "are the great advantages you in the name of your citizens promised me with so many vows, and answered for with so many oaths? Where is now the promised payment for the heavy charges of the war against Gothland? You shall bear the shame of it, you villain—traitor!" With these words he grasped his sword, but was prevented by Laurentius Andreæ. Herman Plönjes began to cry in his alarm, and said that he was guiltless of the Lübecker's treachery. Gustavus turned his back on him in indignation, and hurried home to Sweden, vowing never again to cross its frontiers without being forced. King Fredrick also returned to Denmark, and never more sought to speak with Gustavus Wasa, or to be called his superior.

CHAPTER XXVI.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

THE journey had not been very agreeable for Gustavus, nor was his return more so. The Papists, particularly the energetic Brask, had during his absence tried to make an end of the Reformation ; instigated by him, the Archbishop had cited Olaus and Lawrence before the Chapter of Upsala, neither were they slow of appearing. A violent discussion arose regarding their doctrines ; but it was in vain that the priests sought to resist the clear and simple truth. The brothers were threatened with the Pope's excommunication, but they despised it ; the attempt was next made to gain them by promises of ecclesiastical promotion, power and riches ; but they despised flattery and falsity more than the former threat. Finally, the Chapter took courage, and denounced excommunication on them ; they were excluded from the communion of the Church, and pronounced members of the devil's kingdom ; but the brothers appealed to the King, and left the Chapter-house with clear and cheerful minds.

Meanwhile many proselytes were frightened out of their new persuasion when they heard to what these preachers had been exposed in Upsala. Brask was determined to strike the iron while it was hot ; he forbade clerks and laymen throughout his diocese to buy, sell, or read "Luther's fables and false doctrines." He also established a new press in Söderköping where he printed the translations of a number of German writings against Luther, which he afterwards had disseminated through the country.

The Reformation suffered yet more from the disturbances of the Anabaptists. Some men had at this time arisen in Germany, who preached not only against the

errors of Popery, but also against all outward ceremonies in the worship of God. They proceeded with the utmost violence, and incited the lower and uneducated class of the people to commit all manner of excesses. Two of this body, Melchior Rink and Knippert Dolling, arrived in Stockholm this year on board some German vessels. They were quiet enough in the beginning; but when the King went down to Malinö, they entered the pulpits boldly, and often by force, and began declaiming in the most violent manner both against the Papists and their whole Church service, music, images, and processions. They pretended to be impelled by the Spirit; shouted and screamed, and finally succeeded in exciting the lower orders to uproar. A disgraceful tumult followed: shoemakers, tanners, and others, often the most ignorant and vicious of their class, also imagined, or wanted to make others imagine, that they too were impelled by the Holy Ghost. These new Apostles presented themselves in the Churches; but no one could recognise the doctrines of Christianity in the anger and violence with which they preached. The people, stirred by their discourses, wildly stormed both Churches and Convents, tore down their images and ornaments, and dragged them about in the mud of the streets. Olaus and his colleagues hastened out and sought to quiet the uproar; but the excited and raging multitude heeded not their words. The more sensible part of the community looked on these excesses with horror, and began to fear for the liberty of conscience in matters of religion which had lately been introduced in the country. Many a shrewd prelate beheld them with secret satisfaction, hoping they would be the means of bringing about a reaction which would put an end to the whole Reformation. Simple and pious souls saw with tears the patron saints of the country de-

graded in the dirt; it went to their hearts to see St. Erik King and Saint Brigitta, to whom from their youth they had offered up their prayers and thanksgiving with tears and sincerest trust, so ignominiously treated. But the peasants who happened to be in the town were most wrathful; they hurried with horror out of Stockholm as from a Gomorrha of iniquity, describing to the other peasants with bitterness and detestation what they had witnessed, and in their ignorance laying the whole blame on the doctrines of Luther. Upland seemed on the point of insurrection; the peasants threatened that they would march to Stockholm, and clear the town and country of Lutherans and heretics. Such was the state of affairs when the King returned from Malmö to the capital.

Olaus Petri and his colleagues were instantly summoned to his presence, and had many a severe reproach to undergo for their too great indulgence and want of resolution with these fanatics. Melchior Rink and Knip-pert Dolling were next called for, and had yet harder words to endure. The end of the matter was that they were thrown into prison, and afterwards sent out of the country with this message from the King, that "it should cost them their lives if they ventured ever again to set foot on Swedish ground."

By this means order was restored to Stockholm; but the fame of these impious riots had spread afar, and monks and priests, partly in ignorance, partly with design, gave out that Luther's doctrines had been the cause, which originated a general discontent not only with the new faith, but with the King, whose partiality for it many began to perceive. Informed of this, he determined to make his Eriksgata, assembling the people wherever he stopped, speaking to them with gentleness and persuasion, asking the cause of their com-

plaints, and adjusting them to the best for all parties. Remonstrances against the new doctrines were often brought before him ; he then sought by prudence and kindness to calm the excited, enlighten them on one or other false doctrine, and finally allure them by the hope that the priests should in future bear their part in paying the debts and the taxes of the nation. He thus gradually undermined the consideration in which the Romish persuasion was held, and quieted the country ; the last in particular by his own eloquence, and the great power he possessed over the hearts of the people as soon as they saw him and heard him speak.

About Christmas this year, 1524, he visited Upsala. Desiring to hear the arguments for and against the new doctrines, he demanded that the reverend fathers should, in his presence, enter into a disputation with Olaus Petri, whom he had taken with him for the purpose. The Danes chose the learned and eloquent Peter Galle for their combatant, and a hard struggle ensued between him and Olaus. Peter Galle quoted the Fathers, Olaus Petri the Bible. Neither would give way ; both grew louder and more violent. The King then ordered them to finish, and caused the chief points which had been discussed to be committed to paper. He called for the opinions of the Lutherans as well as the Papists regarding them, and caused these writings to be printed in Swedish and distributed everywhere, that each might be able to judge the pros and cons of both parties. Nor was it long ere this produced an evident change in the manner of thinking of the people ; for sensible and impartial men soon perceived that the Lutherans had truth on their side.

The Romish faith was still more shook by the reading of the New Testament, which was this year printed in Swedish, and through the care of the King sent

to every part of the kingdom. It was greedily sought after, and many found with astonishment how contrary were the injunctions they had hitherto followed, to the precepts it contained. The priests themselves were not less surprised at the contents of the book than at the zest with which it was studied; very few of them had before been able to read it, and still fewer had read it. An honest old priest once said: "I marvel as I now-a-days hear young people talk so much of the New Testament; for my part, I was more than fifty before I knew what the New Testament was." Some students, or scholars as they were then called, came from Upsala to Linköping. Brask asked them "what the Lutherans were teaching?" The students answered that "they call the Pope, Antichrist, and the prelates the agents of Antichrist." The Bishop exclaimed: "It is not very long since Lord Sten Sture conducted me at his right hand, and am I now to be cried down as Antichrist! But on what do they ground their doctrines?" he continued. "They appeal to Paul," answered the young men. Then rose the Bishop in wrath and said: "Better had it been that Paul were burnt than known to every man!"

The King attacked the privileges and wealth of the prelacy as well as their errors. At the meeting held at Wadstena in 1521, it was determined that the foreign cavalry should be quartered in the cloisters; at the meeting in Stockholm (12th of January, 1525), that the tithes of that year should be employed to pay off the foreign soldiery. The priests opposed it, but the King clearly proved that these expenses were necessary, and the nobility, citizens, and peasants glad at not having to pay themselves, were well satisfied that the priests should do it. This bait Gustavus often employed to get the whole of the people on his side against the prelates of Rome.

But the indignation among these was the greatest when Olaus Petri, though himself a priest, this year married publicly and performed service at the same time in Swedish. A general murmur was heard; the ignorant populace threatened to kill the foreign heretics and depose the apostate King. The most extravagant lies and fables regarding him were spread abroad and believed, even to pictures in which he was represented as a frightfully ugly and deformed man. The Dalmen excited by the fugitive prelates, Peter Sunnanwäder and *Magister Knut*, made a complete insurrection, and addressed threatening letters to the King; this happened precisely in concurrence with von Melen's treason and the ravages of Severin Norrby. Grieved and weary of the ungrateful office of being their leader, he summoned the Estates at Westerås, represented to them how treason, ingratitude, and defamation had embittered his reign, and finally said that if his government displeased, he was ready to resign it that the kingdom might not come to ruin on his account. But a general cry and prayer then arose from the assembly, that the King would not forsake them; they promised to risk their lives for him; and not to defend, but immediately to punish every instigator to rebellion who might show himself in the kingdom. Gustavus resumed the reins of government on these conditions, and that with a strong hand. He collected his soldiers, marched up to Dalarna, and summoned its inhabitants to a meeting on Tuna Heath. Master Knut and Peter Sunnanwäder then made their escape to Norway; but the Dalmen presented themselves at the rendezvous. Gustavus met them there surrounded by a body of cavalry in shining armour, and addressed them sternly. The Dalmen returned to a sense of their duty, promised to remain faithful to Gustavus, and never again to suffer traitors

among them. The King, content with these results, imposed no punishment upon them, but returned to Stockholm. This was the first insurrection in the Vallies which Gustavus had in his reign to contend with.

CHAPTER XXVII.

KING GUSTAVUS AND ARCHBISHOP JOHANNES MAGNUS.

THE lately elected Archbishop Johannes Magnus was a learned man of a mild and gentle disposition. He loved his country much, and its deliverer not less, for whose high qualities he entertained the greatest veneration, though mixed with fear and some ill-will when he discovered that the King was labouring to overthrow the old religion. Brask incessantly incited him as the chief prelate of Sweden to set a bound to the royal encroachments, but the Archbishop could never bring himself openly to venture on such a hazardous attempt, and was obliged for his cowardice to endure many a sharp reproof from the bolder Bishop. It was not that Johannes Magnus approved of the King's proceedings; he was devoted to the Roman Catholic religion in heart and soul, and tried to counteract them as much as his timidity permitted.

To increase the importance of his office, and his religion as he thought, he held a magnificent court in Upsala; sons of the first families served him as seneschals and pages; and in clothes, food, and state, he far outshone the frugal monarch. He travelled about making sumptuous visitations to the Bishops, his suffragans, with a company of two hundred armed men in his train. He surrounded himself with a pomp unheard of before, and a number of solemnities such as the consecration of churches, bells, sacerdotal robes and others of the kind were intended by him to attach the minds of the people

to the pompous ceremonies of the Romish Church, and thus retain and increase the veneration they had ever borne the sacred person of their Archbishop.

The news of these proceedings reached Gustavus in Stockholm; and on his return from one of his stately journeys, the Archbishop was called to present himself before the King. Not daring to disobey he set out immediately. "Do you know," he was asked, "what is your real office and calling? Has our Lord Jesus Christ ordered his Apostles to lead such a splendid life in this world as you are doing, or to occupy themselves with such vanities as the anointing of bells, stocks and stones?" The Archbishop had not a word to reply. "I have read in the Holy Scriptures," continued the King, "that the Apostles were ordered to preach, teach, and instruct the people in God's will, and what idea they ought to entertain of God and themselves, and to set them besides the pattern of a Christian life. Such is also the custom in foreign lands where each one reads God's word in his own tongue. But here in Sweden, Bishops, Canons, and monks are an idle company who seldom or never preach to their congregations; how then can the people come to the knowledge of God and learn to pray aright for their temporal and spiritual wants?" The Archbishop took out his breviary and promised improvement. Exhorted by the King, who wanted to compare the interpretations of the Lutherans and the Papists, he engaged partly himself, and partly with the assistance of others, to translate the whole Bible; and after this he was permitted to return to Upsala.

Not long after (1526) the King, followed by two hundred well appointed riders, arrived at Upsala. Accompanied by the Archbishop on one hand, and his secretary Laurentius Andreæ on the other, he rode

to Old Upsala, and stopped upon one of the mounds. The commonalty of Upland had been called to his meetings, and stood on the meadow assembled before him. He then spoke to them on both temporal and spiritual affairs, particularly however on the latter. "There are too many lazy and useless priests by the country," he said; "besides which every cloister is stuffed with monks little better than vermin, who eat up the best of the land. Would it not be fit to hold a muster amongst them? Those of them who are learned and capable to preach may be properly supported, and the rest be made to gain their bread in the sweat of their brow like other men. In their place schoolmasters could be provided, who should bring up the young in learning and good morals." But the peasants commenced to shout and cry "that they might be permitted to keep their monks since they were willing to support them: they had heard that they were to be robbed of the Latin Mass and their old faith: that the secretary 'Master Lars,' was certainly the cause of all this; they therefore wanted to get him out of the town and punish him." Gustavus smiled and asked them if they knew "Master Lars?" They answered, "No, not we; but if we had him here with us on the common, we should presently make better acquaintance." Gustavus then ordered one of his courtiers to address the peasants in Latin; the man began fluently and well, and the peasants listened; but when they discovered that it was a strange language, they cried that they did not understand what he spoke. "But why then," asked the King, "are you so in love with the Latin Mass which you cannot understand either?" Though they had nothing to answer to this, they still continued to complain, and the King perceiving that they were too ignorant to distinguish what was for their own advan-

tage, did not care this time to proceed further with them, but rode back with his company to New Upsala."

This took place in the month of May. It was an old sport at that season at great feasts that some one should be chosen May-King and crowned with flowers. On their way back from the mounds of Upsala, Gustavus got a garland bound, and placed it himself on the head of the Archbishop, naming him at the same time King of the May. This he did to make sport of him; but he emboldened, by the conduct of the peasants, imagined that the King, through timidity, wanted to show him a real honour. He therefore let the crown remain, and the inhabitants of Upsala beheld with surprise their Archbishop in the trim of a King of the May come riding through Swartbäck's Barrier.

Some days after he made a banquet for the King, at which two seats of honour were placed at table, in which the Sovereign and the prelate were seated opposite to each other; but everything was arranged with most magnificence before the place of the latter. At the end of the repast, the Archbishop with a full cup in his hand turned towards the King, and said: "Our Grace drinks to your Grace." Gustavus answered: "Thy Grace and our Grace cannot find room under the same roof;" to which the Archbishop had nothing to answer, but the company burst into a loud laugh.

After the lapse of some days the King again visited the Chapter, and asked the prelates from whom they had received their privileges, and on what they were founded. Peter Galle stood up, and answered in the name of his companions: "that the Holy Church had received her privileges from Christian Emperors, Kings, and Princes. Goods and lands had on the other hand, been presented to churches and convents by pious souls, which gifts had afterwards been confirmed by

Kings and Princes, so that they should remain unalienable and ever the same." "But," observed the King, "have not Kings and Princes the right to recall such privileges for which they find no ground in Scripture, but which have been extorted by denunciations of purgatory and more of the sort, which can never be proved by Holy Writ?"

Peter Galle not replying, Gustavus turned to the Archbishop begging him to answer, but neither did he speak. Dean Göran Turesson Roos then stood up to defend the cause of the priesthood, and threatened with eternal damnation whoever should venture to attack their privileges. The Dean's speech was so eager, that it presently became confused; instead of *Decretales* which word he continually repeated, he used *Drickitales*.* The King smiled gently at this, and said: "Ay, you drink enough, and speak the while, but the kingdom gets it to pay for." Having patiently heard the Dean's discourse to an end, he answered, "that could he support it by the words of Scripture, he, the King, must certainly be satisfied; that his intentions had not been to snatch their well-earned and lawful bread from those who laboured for the honour of God and the weal of the community; but such drones as could do nothing but sing and bellow Latin masses in churches and convents, which they could not understand, must be inspected, and no longer enjoy support in idleness." Dean Göran could not produce a single text in support of his privileges, neither could any of the others. "Then," said the King, "since you cannot prove your privileges from Scripture, it is clear that temporal authority may place its restrictions on them." This said, he left the Chapter-house, and rode with his men immediately back to Stockholm.

* As if he had said by draughts instead of decretals.

King Gustavus perceived but too well, that so far from having a friend in the Archbishop, he was, on the contrary, counteracted by him, as much as so weak and timid a man could venture to do. He called for him, therefore, and declared to him that he would never recognize him as Archbishop; he might therefore look after some other employment and leave the country, for he was never more to return to Upsala. Johannes not daring to resist such a positive order, sailed away as soon as he had collected his most precious effects. He however went on shore at Roslagskare, and summoned the priests in the neighbourhood to meet him in Söderby Church; informed them that the King had sent him to negotiate a marriage with the Princess of Poland; that he had been wrecked on the islands, so that he could not present himself with sufficient pomp; and therefore begged assistance from the clergy which he would make good on his speedy return." In this manner he contrived to get a quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects together with horses and oxen, with which he crossed to Dantzic. He remained long in Poland, in the hopes of being recalled and reinstated in his office, but never took part in the many conspiracies which were set on foot against Gustavus by fugitive Swedes; on the contrary, he sought in many instances to further his and Sweden's weal to the best of his ability; but all the time urged the King, according to his own heart's conviction, to re-embrace the Roman Catholic faith. When he found his efforts vain, he set out for Rome, seeking help, but finding none. He died at last in poverty in a hospital of that city in 1544.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SEVERIN NORRBY'S END.

WHEN Severin Norrby found himself so hard beset by the Swedes in Gothland, he promised, as we have already seen, to give up the island to the Danish King. When the Swedes, according to the treaty at Malmö, were to abandon Gothland, he caused his own private property to be carried down to the haven to be put on board his vessels, that the Castle and island might be made over to the Danish Ambassadors; but scarce had the Swedes retired, when Norrby, free from all apprehensions, caused his effects to be carried up into the Castle again, and told the Danish gentlemen they might return to Copenhagen for he had now no intention of delivering up Wisborg. They had nothing to do but to depart; and King Fredrick was forced to put up with this treacherous conduct. He had no power himself to punish Norrby, and was only glad that Sweden had not got the disputed island.

Norrby now recommenced arming and strengthening himself; and having ever an eye to the Swedish crown, entertained secret relations with the malcontents in the kingdom. "Were he the master," he said, "the peasants should soon get salt and hops at a cheaper price, neither would he permit any heresy." He continued his courtship of Christina Gyllenstjerna. This generous woman answered him in the beginning with courtesy, for she had experienced much alleviation through his means during her imprisonment in Denmark; but she steadily rejected his proposals. Norrby, notwithstanding spread a rumour that he was to be married to Sture's widow, thinking this would gain him the love and devotion of the people. This report became at last so general, that Christina was obliged to

write to her friends to refute it ; she even begged one of them to go to Norrby and pray him "to desist from such talk ; neither need he put his trust in her," she said, "for she would never have him." Meanwhile he sought to inflame discord between Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and deceive both Kings. But these knew the man all too well, and only tightened the bonds of their union. The uproars in Sweden on which Norrby counted were speedily and powerfully appeased ; and he perceived that all his artifice, craft, and bravery would avail nothing against Gustavus. "I know yet a country," he said, "which stands open to me, where a crown awaits me." He meant Denmark. With a large body of soldiers he fell unexpectedly on Scåne, while Fredrick was in Holstein ; he declared himself to be sent by Christian to deliver the peasantry from their hard slavery, if they would take him for their King again. The peasants collected in thousands to his standard ; some eager for plunder, all weary of the oppression which they were made by their hard masters to suffer under Fredrick. The army marched quickly through Scåne ; noblemen's houses were plundered ; its towns taken ; the whole land paid homage to Christian with the exception of the well-fortified Malmö, where the persecuted nobility of the province had taken refuge, and soon received considerable assistance from Zealand, headed by one of the warlike Danish family of the Ranzows. He, with only thirteen hundred men, attacked one of Norrby's generals who had eight thousand peasants. These undisciplined troops soon fell into disorder, and more than three thousand of them were cut down. Ranzow then marched to Lund ; sixty insurgent burghers who had taken shelter in the Cathedral were drawn out of it and beheaded. He next heard that Norrby had hopes of joining another

peasant troop of ten thousand men. He broke up hastily, fell on these troops and beat them; Norrby was shut in, and Ranzow after this energetic beginning gave the peasants a general amnesty, treated them with mildness, and in this manner the province was soon restored to quiet.

Norrby, in this distress, entered into a treaty with the Danish King: delivered Gothland up to him, and received in return the town and district of Sölvißborg for his life time. But even here he continued to keep great bodies of well-armed men; and with his numerous ships of war soon recommenced his old piracies. He behaved more like an equal with Fredrick than a subject, and wanted to commence war with Gustavus. Both Kings dreading him alike, renewed their league against him. In his desperation, he then put himself at the head of his little fleet, seizing and plundering every vessel which fell in his way, be it that of friend or foe. Brave and experienced, well acquainted with every bay and rock in the Baltic, if he was difficult to conquer, he was still more so to find. On the 24th of August, however, the United Danish and Swedish fleets succeeded in shutting him in. He lost three large ships, and three yachts in the battle. With the remains of his fleet, he escaped to Narva, while his castles and strongholds in Bleking fell into the hands of King Fredrick.

From Narva, Norrby proceeded into the interior of Russia, hoping to succeed in gaining the Grand Duke against Sweden; but King Gustavus, who had gained information of this project, had been beforehand with him, and by his Ambassador confirmed his treaty with Russia and counteracted Norrby; so that when the latter presented himself to the Grand Duke, he was retained a prisoner three years; and it was only through

the intercession of the Emperor that he was restored to liberty.

His territory now lost, his ships destroyed, his men scattered, himself feared, hated, and excluded from the three northern kingdoms, nothing more was left him to hope. He entered the Emperor's service, followed his armies to Italy, fought with his usual bravery, and finally was struck by a ball from a falconet at the siege of Florence in 1530, which put a period to his restless existence.

CHAPTER XXIX.

DEATH OF MASTER KNUT AND PETER SUNNANWÄDER.

KING GUSTAVUS meanwhile continued to diminish the power of the clergy. Gripsholm which his father had bestowed on a monastery, he resumed as an inheritance belonging to him by right ; an unheard-of attempt, but one which the nobility saw with joy, as a precedent by which they hoped in the future to regain the large possessions which their forefathers had in the same manner bestowed.

A portion of the clerical privileges admitted that a number of crimes committed against the laws of the Church were to be judged by the clergy, who however were themselves not amenable to the common courts of justice. In this matter the King made a bold alteration. A young man called Olof Tyske was in love with the daughter of a citizen of Wadstena ; the parents wishing to prevent the marriage put her into a convent ; but her lover succeeded in releasing her, on which they eloped together. Bishop Brask excommunicated them as profaners of the sanctuary ; none were to eat or associate with them ; they were to be considered like heathen, and any one might kill them with impunity.

The unfortunate pair fled to the King. He annulled the excommunication, had them married, and wrote to Brask, seriously advising him to desist from all excommunication till the prelates of the church had come to an explanation on doctrinal points, when they should be protected who proved themselves able to support their cause by the better reasoning, the deepest grounds, and the authority of Scripture.

A still harder blow awaited the exemption of the clergy from temporal trial. The two deposed prelates, Master Knut and Peter Sunnanwäder, who after their rebellious attempts in Dalarna had taken and found refuge in Norway, were however at last given up on account of Gustavus' urgent remonstrances, and summoned before a court composed of both ecclesiastics and laymen. The King himself was their accuser, laying before the judges incontrovertible proofs of the guilt with which they were charged. The temporal Lords adjudged the defendants as traitors to death; the ecclesiastics did not dare, for fear of the King who was present, to set themselves contrary to the judgment, but protested against priests being brought before an ordinary court. The King paid no heed to their protest. The two seditaries were forced to make a degrading entry into Stockholm, riding backwards on poor half-starved horses, dressed in ragged palls, Master Knut wearing a bark mitre on his head, Peter Sunnanwäder a crown of straw, and a wooden sword by his side. Crowds of people in disguise followed them, mocking and teasing the unfortunates. The procession passed through some of the principal streets of the town, and stopped at last on the Great Square (*Stortorget*) where they were led to the whipping-post, and made to drink with the executioner, hooted at and derided by the mob all the while. Shortly after this ungenerous

treatment they were both conducted to the place of execution, beheaded and impaled. Peter Sunnanwäder in Upsala, the 18th February 1527, and Master Knut three days later in Stockholm.

The fame of these proceedings spread like wildfire through the kingdom. Gustavus had ordered the ignominious procession through Stockholm, to decrease the reverence of the people for their Bishops; but it was interpreted as an ungenerous victor's mockery over the vanquished; and the execution itself excited yet greater displeasure. Such an attempt against such men was extraordinary, nay unheard of. The priests represented the criminals as the fallen defenders of the clerical freedom; the friends of the Stures as innocent victims of their devotion to that family, and the Roman Catholics, as martyrs to the true faith sacrificed by the hand of a heretic and godless King, in which sentiments the clergy sought to maintain the people to the utmost of their power. It was related that strange signs had been seen on the sky at Sunnanwäder's execution; and a failure of the crops, which happened the same year, was accounted as a punishment of Heaven. Thus all that could conduce to the honour of offenders was remembered and exaggerated; their crimes meanwhile passed over in silence. No mention was made of Sunnanwäder having stolen a large sum of money from the Stures; that both prelates had sought to raise insurrections against their lawful Sovereign; that they had deceived the simple multitude with fables; and lastly that they had laboured to introduce foreign troops into the country. It was no wonder if the discontent became general, and the misguided people expressed both displeasure and hatred against the Sovereign they had once so much loved.

This judicious Prince was, however, neither to be

bowed or to be broken from the task he had once taken in hand ; on the contrary, he determined to carry through the work he had begun. He wrote a long proclamation to the commonalty of the kingdom, clearly refuting the lies which had been circulated regarding him ; enlightening them on the intrigues and avarice of the clergy, and informing them that he intended in the presence of a select number of capable and impartial men to cause an examination to be set on foot regarding the points which had been so much disputed. This meeting, consisting of all classes of deputies from every part of the kingdom, was fixed to take place at Westerås about Midsummer, 1527, and is since celebrated Diet of Westerås.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE DIET OF WESTERÅS.

THE Roman Catholics anticipated little gain from this Diet. It was with the utmost repugnance that Bishop Brask saw that their faith was to be discussed before the people, or that any one even ventured to examine its doctrines ; and that this was to be done in the presence of the King was still more alarming to him, for though a bold and a wise man, Brask had, like the rest, experienced how Gustavus by his look, his voice, his words and gestures, had such an influence over the minds of the people that none dared or were able to speak in his presence, much less to resist his will. Therefore he shunned personal interviews with the King as much as he could ; but this time it was unavoidable.

The States were already assembled, but the Diet not yet opened, when the King invited them all to a banquet. When he had mounted his throne, he showed the

places at his side for the Senate of the kingdom ; after whom he placed the Bishops ; then followed the nobility in general ; after them the clergy, burghers and peasants. The prelates, who had hitherto sat above the Senators, saw themselves with rage thus removed lower ; however none ventured to expose himself to the King's anger ; they were silent and obliged to make the best of the places assigned them.

The following day they assembled in the Cathedral at the summons of Brask, and the doors being shut that no stranger might glide in amongst them and betray their counsel, the question was proposed, how they were to conduct themselves now, when by so many previous events ; and lastly, by the disgrace which had been put upon them at the royal banquet, it was clear to perceive that the King had serious intentions on their property, power, and privileges. To this the Bishops of Strängnäs and Westerås answered, that "they were well satisfied, poor or rich, how the King would have them, for had they little to receive, they had likewise but little to bestow." This complying speech highly incensed Bishop Brask. "Ye are madmen," he exclaimed, "if ye permit such a thing ! If King Gustavus will take from us, let him do it by force, not with our free will and consent ; in that manner we retain our right to complain before our Holy Father in Rome. Let each one take good heed how he abandon the Pope. Many Kings and Princes have taken the same in hand as this one is now doing ; but they have all been scorched by the thunder-bolts of papal excommunication ; and the persecuted clergy have got what was theirs quietly back again. But should we fall from Rome which is our sheet-anchor and defence, we fall into fire and thorns on every side. The Holy Father will excommunicate us, and the King here at home,

count us little better than slaves, so that we may not venture to speak a word for the freedom and rights of the Church."

This speech of Brask's inspired the priests with new courage, and with solemn oaths they engaged not to swerve from the Pope, nor accept one of Luther's doctrines, as long as they lived. They drew up a long letter to this purport, which was signed and sealed by them all; but notwithstanding this mutual agreement and proud determination, such was their dread of the King, that they buried the parchment under a stone in the floor of the church, that he might not get the least knowledge of it; and it was not till fifteen years after that it was sought for, and again saw the light.

On the following day the Diet was opened, and the deputies assembled in the large hall of a cloister. Various were the passions and views of the different members of this meeting. The King presided at it, with the firm determination of here either crushing the power of popery in his kingdom, or resigning an otherwise impotent and despicable sceptre. Brask attended with an equally firm determination of not giving in an iota. The King's partisans full of hope—the Bishops full of dread—the nobles, part greedy for conventual property, part devoted to the King, part jealous of him, as Ture Jönsson Roos in particular, whose pride was flattered and fanned by Brask. Finally the burghers and peasants, well aware of the great advantages they had enjoyed under the King's prudent administration, but partly blinded and lead astray by the false reports which his enemies had circulated, and most of all by the rumour of his impiety.

When they were collected, Laurentius Andreæ, the King's secretary arose, and made a long speech in the King's name. In it was demonstrated how the King,

with God's help, had, though with much difficulty, saved the country out of the grasp of foreigners ; how he by the Estates of the kingdom, had with many prayers and great promises, been persuaded to take on himself and retain the Government, though he had several times wished to withdraw from it. For all this, ingratitude, treachery, false accusations and rebellions had been his reward. The Secretary next went separately through the reports which had been circulated regarding the King, proving to a demonstration the falsehood of each, so that it was clear to every eye. He afterwards informed them of the King's resolution to resign the crown, and such an ungrateful charge : still however he must be permitted to inform the States of what he considered to be the greatest misfortune of the Kingdom, and the main impediments to its well being. These points chiefly reposed on the revenues of the crown being insufficient, while those of the churches and convents were on the other hand by far too considerable.

All this was examined with the utmost detail and precision in the Secretary's discourse. When it was concluded, the King turned to the Senate, and the Bishops demanded their answer. Ture Jönsson Roos, the eldest of the Senate, then stood up and asked the King to hear their answer with patience. He agreed, expecting at least to have the nobility on his side ; but Ture, himself ambitious of the crown, and secretly allied with Brask, now proceeded to show, how directly contrary to the King, he gave the preference to the Bishops. He made a sign to Brask to be spokesman for the rest, who began : " We who are in Holy Orders must confess that we have sworn and promised our most Holy Father that neither in doctrine, nor in any spiritual affairs will we take any step without his con-

sent or permission. Not the less do we owe loyalty, obedience, and submission to our gracious Lord the King, inasmuch as they do not militate against the decrees and ordinances prescribed us by the Popes and general Councils. Neither is it possible for us to resign any part of the property of the Holy Church, be it real or personal, for it has been entrusted to our charge. But the superstitions and corruptions which bad priests and monks have introduced, may well be abrogated, and those who indulge in them, punished in the severest manner." Brask ceased, and seated himself.

The King then turned to the Senators, and asked, "If they thought this quite rightly answered?" Ture Jönsson and some of his party arose, saying: "That they could not understand otherwise, but that the Bishop had as near as possible answered right, though not fully on every article."

"If that is the case," said the wronged and deceived monarch, "we have no longer a mind to be your King. We had certainly expected another answer from you, but now we cannot wonder that the Commons are mad, and show us all manner of disobedience, causing us grief and vexation, when we perceive that they have such excellent instigators. If they do not get rain, they lay the blame on us; if not sunshine, it is the same. Do hard years occur, dearth or pestilence, or whatever it may be, it is imputed to us. This is the thanks for the care and trouble which we have to endure for the commonalty of the country, and the well-being of you all. We may labour for your good as much as we are able, we have however no reward to expect for it, but that you would willingly see the axe stuck in our head, though none of you dare to hold in the helve. Such a return we desire as little as

any of you. We must daily go through more work and labour than you know how to understand, both in home and foreign affairs, because we have the name of being your King and Governor; nevertheless you now want to set both monks, priests, and all the Pope's creatures above us. In a word—each of you aims to judge and master us, though we are elected to be your Lord and Sovereign. But who can be your Sovereign after such a fashion? We do not think the worst spirit in hell would desire it, much less any human being. Therefore, know that we wash our hands of being your King, to which office you may choose and elect according to your own pleasure. Can you find any one, who in every respect, and ever, will satisfy you all, we shall see it with pleasure. But you shall remember one thing, and that is to redeem us fairly, and pay us our paternal and maternal inheritance which we have expended on the kingdom. When this is done, we promise you that we will turn our back on this land, and never at any time set foot in it again." With these words tears burst from the King's eyes. He descended from his throne, hurried out of the hall, and thence to the Castle, accompanied by his body-guard and nearest friends.

The consternation and astonishment which filled all minds, is not easy to describe. The Secretary stood up: "Consult together, ye good men," he commenced, "and pray God for a good counsel, for this matter is no trifle. We must either beg King Gustavus for pardon, take him back again and give into his will, or we must redeem him from the throne, and choose another King." No answer followed; not one in the thunder-struck assembly dared to lift his voice. They walked and stood in the hall in separate groups, whispering and advising with one another, but neither order

nor unity were to be found amongst them ; no resolution was taken—none even proposed. Towards evening they parted, and each returned to his own house ; the greater part full of care and uneasiness, a few elated with hope and joy ; amongst these Ture Jönsson was the first. On his way back to his lodging, he made one of his servants precede him beating a drum all along the street. Sir Ture followed, proud and delighted. “I defy any one,” he said, “this year to make of me a heathen, a Lutheran, or a heretic.” The King on his side had invited to the Castle some of his best friends and old warriors, for whom a magnificent entertainment was spread. Their songs and jokes, their mirth and sport were to stifle or conceal the grief and uneasiness which stormed in his bosom. But he was firm in his determination. Some of his friends counselled him to give way to the will of the States. “No,” said he ; “neither by flattery nor threats shall they gain anything from me. If the rat gets at the cheese, he does not stop till he has eaten it up.”

The following day, the States reassembled in the same hall, but the same confusion, the same disunion was perceived as on the day previous. What one agreed to, the others refused. Herr Nils Krumme wanted to offer a piece of good advice, but his voice was not heard above the murmur of the people, and thus it was with several others. At last the peasants began to call, and beg, that the good Lords of the council and the nobility would agree and bring this matter to an unanimous termination, so that the commonalty might know what they had to suit themselves to, and then set out for their homes again. But nothing was to be settled ; voices were then heard among the peasants saying : “If they would only consider the matter fairly, the King had not been unreasonable with

any of them; they could not charge his Grace with anything. If the Senate of the kingdom would not put an end to this state of affairs, they would do it themselves though it would not be to the profit of all." The burghers joined them in this, and those from Stockholm declared openly that they would hold out their town three years for the King; and again they called on the nobles, who had the first and chief voice, to explain themselves; but none advanced. Ture Jönsson was at the head of a large party consisting chiefly of the nobility of West Gothland, among whom was Mäns Bryntesson, Liljehök, Nils Winge, Ture Bjelke, and many others, all envious of the King and being his secret enemies. These hindered any other of their own class from advancing a word in his favour, though none of them dared to speak themselves of his deposition and the election of another King. Brask himself, the principal cause of the whole, and generally so bold and determinate, knew no better than the rest what course to pursue. He perceived well enough that ruin would overtake his beloved country if Gustavus was deposed: but he as evidently perceived the ruin which threatened the religion of his fathers which was equally dear to him, if Gustavus resumed the authority. Torn by conflicting passions, he remained silent and inactive.

The threatening exclamations of the peasantry and burghers continuing, Laurentius Andreæ asked permission to speak, but Ture Jönsson silenced him immediately, fearing in him an ardent partisan and friend of the King. The noise and disorder increased. At last Magnus Sommar, Bishop of Strängnäs, clapped his hands and demanded silence. He obtained it, and spoke thus: "We highly thank Sir Ture Jönsson for his good intention to protect and defend the members

of the Church ; but I fear we shall come by more harm than gain by it, for it would be ill if we be so defended and protected that the kingdom fall into ruin and disorder in consequence. We prefer therefore to take such terms as we may get. The kingdom in every respect has latterly been gaining and advancing, so that we have only good to expect, and now to reject King Gustavus and choose another head, a child might see, much more grown-up people, what the consequence of that would be. Moreover, to restore to the King all he has expended on the kingdom will be difficult, not to say impossible. It has also to be supposed that the inveterate enemies of Sweden who have ever been on the watch for our ruin, would not leave us long in peace after King Gustavus had left us."

When the Bishop had finished this speech, the Commons and a great part of the nobles rose, thanked him for having so judiciously undertaken this affair, and it was evidently the wish of the majority that they should by no means suffer the King to depart.

Just at this turn many of the chief nobles and burghers stood up, and proposed, that as they were now together, they should have a thorough examination of what was called the new doctrines, each would then be able to discover on whose side was the truth. This proposal pleased the greater part, who urged it to the no small pleasure of the Roman Catholics. The old disputants Olaus Petri and Peter Galle were obliged to re-enter the lists ; they had however first a long argument between themselves as to the language which should be employed. Peter wanted Latin, Olaus Swedish. The disquisition therefore was begun in the former language, but the peasants soon called Galle to order, desiring him to speak Swedish that they might understand what he

said, and he was thus forced to use his mother tongue. The disputants continued till late in the evening; neither would confess himself vanquished, but many among their hearers, who had joined the assembly that morning full of faith in Popery, left the place doubtful, if not entirely converted.

On the third day, the Estates were again assembled, but neither this day would the Senate and nobles act with energy. The voices of the peasants and burghers then sounded above the rest, crying that if the nobles insisted on being the ruin of the country, they, the Commons, with the King's assistance would find means to visit and punish them for it. They had already sent a message to that effect to the King. At these words the conspirators lost courage; they began, and particularly Mans Bryntesson to pray Ture Jönsson to reflect on their dangerous position, and not hold himself too stiffly against the King. "We shall manage the matter so," they said, "that none of us will get from this place with life." Herr Ture then answered: "For this once I will then give way, but the King shall by no means force me to any heresy; and," added he, "will he not be reasonable, we shall find a way to manage him some other day." It was at last determined, after many and long consultations, that the Secretary and Olaus Petri should be sent up to the King, to relate the remorse of the States, and their prayer that he would condescend to be their chief, without which they were unable to assist themselves. The Ambassadors went and executed their commission, but Gustavus answered them laconically, "That he would stand by what he had said;" they sought to mollify him by tears and genuflexions, but in vain. They returned with his refusal, and were themselves so terrified by his severity, that they declared they would never

venture on such an errand again. The consternation and uneasiness increased; two other Lords, Bishop Magnus Sommar and the Senator Knut Lilje were despatched with the same petition, but they brought back the same answer. The disorder and dismay were at a climax; some wept, others called, some consulted. Ture Jönsson and Bishop Brask knew not what steps to pursue, and read clear enough in the glances of the irritated people what they had to expect from them. One after the other meanwhile went to the King, and embracing his knees sought by tears, prayers, and entreaties, each as he best could to soften him. At last he gave in, and caused them to be informed, that on the following day he would join in their assembly.

The fourth day, and the States were assembled in the hall awaiting their Sovereign; they had now fully learnt how indispensable he was to them. Surrounded by his friends, and followed by his guard, he descended from the Castle to the hall of audience. Reverence and devotion appeared in every eye as he advanced, and he had scarcely reached his place, when the whole assembly, with one voice, began imploring him to resume the crown, promising the utmost obedience to his will, and duty to his commands. On these conditions, but on these alone, Gustavus resumed the reins of Government. The States swore a renewed oath of fealty, and all that the King had required was accorded with uplifted hands. We shall only communicate the most important articles. 1st. "That the superfluous riches and revenues of the Bishops, the Churches and Convents should be applied to the use of the kingdom and the crown. 2nd. What property before the time of Charles VIII had been bestowed upon Churches and Convents should return to the Crown. 3rd. What since the

time of Charles VIII had been given to Churches and Convents, sold or pledged, should be resumed or redeemed by those who could prove themselves to be the nearest heir of the same. 4th. The pure word of God should be preached in all Churches of the kingdom," and in a separate determination, called "*Westerås Ordinantia*," it was fixed "that Bishops, Deans, &c., should be nominated by the King without the advice of the Pope; that the King should depose unqualified clergymen; that priests in worldly affairs should appear before temporal tribunals; that mulcts should fall to the King and not to the Bishop; that the inheritance of Priests should fall to their nearest relatives instead of to the Bishops; that the Bible should be read in schools," and so on.

The clergy by letters patent were obliged to agree to these stipulations, however unwillingly. "They did so:" they wrote, "because they would not resist what had been decreed and decided on by all the rest; and chiefly because they did not desire to be suspected of being by their power and strong castles dangerous to the kingdom, as some former Prelates had been. They were therefore content, however poor or rich his Grace might please to have them." This being signed and sealed, the King addressed the Bishops requiring their castles of them, for at this time each had a strongly fortified tower, like that of the Archbishop at Almarastäk. He first turned to Bishop Mans Sommar of Strängnäs, demanding Tynnelsö, which the Bishop immediately promised to give up. Next to Harald Strömfelt, and demanded Läckö, which was also granted. The turn now came to Bishop Brask, from whom the King claimed Munkeboda. At this request the old man sighed and groaned heavily, and was unable to utter either yes, or no. Ture Jönsson Roos then arose, and begged the

King to have some consideration for the age and services of the Bishop, and permit him to retain his Munkebona as long as he lived. But Gustavus returned a determinate "no," to this, and not merely this, but required that Brask should find bail for himself to answer for the safe deliverance of Munkeboda and its dependencies, as well as for his never again conspiring against the King. Eight Knights gave this bail, and some deputies were despatched to take immediate possession of the Castle. After this the forty men-at-arms, who, according to the custom of the time, had accompanied the Bishop to the Diet were called for, obliged to renounce their allegiance to him, and enter into the service of the King. Lastly, the Bishop was strictly informed that, at the risk of his neck, and not without the King's especial permission was he to leave the town. The remaining Prelates gave up their Castles, and thus ended this remarkable transaction.

The Diet of Westerås did not last very long; scarce eight days passed ere it was closed; but never, at any Diet, has more been executed; never have any resolutions brought about a more complete change. The whole tremendous power of Popery in all its members was crushed. Deprived of their riches, their privileges, their great consideration, they were open to the continual and often unjust exactions of the crown and the nobility, to the attacks of the Lutheran priests, and left without power to protect themselves from the encroachments of enemies on every side. The Crown of Sweden, which before had been utterly impoverished and unable to pay the half of its expenses, became rich at once; the King formerly, in most respects, forced to act according to the will of the Bishops and the clergy, now acquired a much wider rule; the peasants felt a

great alleviation in their taxes ; but the nobility gained the most : for countless estates were redeemed or resumed from churches and convents. Gustavus, himself descended from the chiefest and wealthiest families, did not in this respect curtail aught from his own privileges, but received large property which has since been known by the name of the Gustavian entail. It often happened afterwards, that the nobles appropriated by force, fields and possessions of the Church ; in such cases, however, they soon perceived that they had in Gustavus, both a strict and observant master. "Ye good men," he wrote to them on receiving information of such violence, "are willing to pass for the heirs of much land and property to which you have little right. Were it now permitted to every one to help himself as he pleased, and appropriate property, without reason, birth, or proof, we might also play the same trick which we have not however done. So must you, also, good men, not conduct yourself as if there were neither authority, law, nor right in the land."

CHAPTER XXXI.

KING GUSTAVUS AND BISHOP BRASK.

BISHOP BRASK returned home from this Diet with a heavy and sorrowful heart ; he, once one of the first Lords of the land, could not digest the affront of seeing his power and consideration so much curtailed. So sincerely devoted to the Romish persuasion, he could not behold it day by day diminishing in credit, and finally falling out of use, and therefore determined to fly the kingdom to avoid this melancholy spectacle. He however wished that the knights who had become bound for him, should not have to suffer on his ac-

count, and to that end employed craft. When Gustavus, shortly after the Diet, came to East Gothland, Brask received him with much humility and submission, made a splendid feast for him in his palace, and appeared at it so gay and contented, that the King at last began to think him sincere, and much joking and mirth passed between them. When the Bishop perceived that the King was in such good humour, he begged him to release the eight nobles from their bail, to which he obtained a willing consent. He next turned the discourse on Gothland, saying, "that though it now effectively belonged to Denmark, yet, in a spiritual sense, it was still an annex of the See of Linköping," for which reason he asked permission to make a voyage thither, and visit the churches. The King readily granted his request, nor was it disagreeable to him to have it thus proved that Gothland originally belonged to Sweden.

When Gustavus had left him, Brask hastened to collect sums of money and precious effects from the Churches in East Gothland and Småland. All was packed into great chests, carried to Söderköping, and put on board a good vessel, on which the Bishop himself, when all was ready, likewise set sail. He stopped first at Gothland, but soon proceeded. When the vessel left its shores, the Bishop said: "Now, blow what wind it will, only not back to Sweden again." His voyage was fortunate; and landed at Dantzic, he wrote to the King, reclaiming Munkeboda, appealing to his conscience that the treaty of Westerås had been compulsory and unlawful, and trying to turn his mind from changing his religion; this however gained him nothing but a sharp and severe answer; indeed had Brask not succeeded in gaining a warrant from the King of Poland, the citizens of Dantzic would have given him up to Gustavus' strict demands.

In Dantzig he met the deposed Archbishop Johannes Magnus, and both laboured there awhile on the conversion of Gustavus from the Lutheran faith. When Johannes Magnus removed to Italy, Brask remained some time in the Olivet Cloister near Dantzig; and his last years were passed further in the interior of Poland in a monastery called Landa. Like Johannes, he never bore a part in any of the conspiracies which were carried on against Gustavus; but he wrote frequently to his friends in Sweden, exhorting them faithfully and earnestly to remain true to the faith of their fathers, the doctrines of the old Catholic Church. Faithful himself to these doctrines, for which he had sacrificed all, he ended his days in the above-mentioned monastery, A.D. 1538.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF THE DAL-JUNKER, AND THE SECOND INSURRECTION IN DALARNA.

SHORTLY before his death, Peter Sunnanwäder, who had ever and at all times sought to injure Gustavus by all means in his power, had discovered a young peasant lad who much resembled the Stures in feature. His real name was Jöns, the natural son of a servant-maid in the parish of Björkstad in Westmanland. He had served noble masters from his earliest youth, and had acquired their gestures and manners; he was handsome, clever, and fluent of speech, but faithless and dishonest, and had once already lost his place on account of theft. This youth Bishop Sunnanwäder thought would answer his purposes, and persuaded him to pass himself for Sten Sture, the younger's eldest son, Nils; and to seek to incite the Dalmen to insurrection by false reports of the persecutions the Stures had to suffer from the

King. He finally instructed him minutely in all regarding the family that he might not betray himself by ignorance. Matters stood in this state when Sunnanwäder met with his fate in Stockholm.

But Jöns determined to put what he had learnt to profit, and was nowise downcast by his patron's misfortune. He was strengthened still more in his intentions by hearing of the death of the real Nils Sture, which took place at this time in Stockholm. Jöns then went to the remote northern parishes of Dalarna, to Leksand, Orsa and Mora. There he went through the villages complaining loudly of the King's harshness and impiety, and persuading the Dalmen of all manner of untruths. When they were thus separately inflamed, he summoned them to a general meeting, in which he presented himself, and spoke against the King. "Himself," he said, "together with his mother, the Lady Christina and his younger brother, had been treated at Court little better than if in prison. The King's envy had denied him education in his youth; and the hatred borne him was even so great, that Gustavus always grappled his sword as soon as Nils Sture came before his eyes; he had, therefore, fled from such a tyrant, and put himself into the hands and under the protection of the honest Dalmen. He, however, cared for his own life little in comparison with the ruin the King was bringing on the whole kingdom, inasmuch as he taxed the peasants, murdered the Bishops, plundered the churches, destroyed the convents, and rejected the Catholic faith, being himself the worst of heretics and heathens, and in every respect the exact opposite of their beloved Administrator, his late father." When Jöns mentioned this name, he began to weep bitterly, fell on his knees begging the honest Dalmen to do the same, and repeat a *Pater Noster* for his father's soul. These, moved to pity, followed his example, and offered

up their prayers with tears for their loved departed leader. Him whom they believed to be his son, they received with all possible love and affection, gave him a guard, and promised to spare neither life nor limb in his cause. After this fortunate commencement, Jöns passed on to Rättwik, intending there to follow out the same game; but the inhabitants were too clever for him: they told him to his face that he was not Sten Sture's son; and even if he were, they would by no means forget what they owed King Gustavus.

With this answer the Dal-Junker,* for so he was usually called, was obliged to turn back; he begged his friends to keep quiet while he crossed to Trondhem, where he succeeded in persuading the Archbishop and many other influential persons that he really was Sten Sture's son; for which reason those who were Gustavus' enemies received him well, gave him much assistance and promised him still more. The Dal-Junker also courted a rich and noble damsel, was married to her, and was aided by her relations with money; amongst other presents he got a heavy gold chain, which he afterwards never neglected to wear when he spoke to the peasants. He returned at last to Dalarna at the head of some soldiers with whom his Norwegian friends had provided him. The parishes of Mora, Orsa and Leksand, received him with the same devotion as before; the people of Rättwik, Tuna, and Gagnef answered him that they would neither hold for him nor King Gustavus; but when he came as far as Hedemora, Skedvi and Husby, he was met by threatening letters from the peasants. Hoping to frighten them, he marched towards them with a body of his partisans; but was soon obliged to return with defeat. The neutral parishes soon joined these three,

* Junker, young nobleman—young Lord.

and sent a messenger to the King with news of the insurrection, asking men and assistance. They likewise despatched cautionary letters to their misled brethren in northern Dalarna, so that these on reflection, determined to keep themselves quiet till they should learn if the Dal-Junker was Lord Sten's son or not.

On the first news of these disorders, Gustavus despatched a messenger to King Fredrick in Denmark, requiring that the insurgents should receive no support in Norway; he then sent an armed troop to Dalarna with a letter from Lady Christina Gyllenstjerna to the Dal-Junker and his followers. These were summoned, and the letter was read to them in an audible voice. The Lady Christina wrote and attested, "to the good men of Dalarna, that this Dal-thief was deceiving them with pure lies and deceptions. He was in no wise her son;" and to himself she wrote: "I have not forgotten how many children God gave me, and my late Lord, Herr Sten. My eldest son Nils, I have seen dead in the face; where my second son Swante is, I very well know; the same of all my other children. But of thee I know nothing. Thine own conscience shall bear thee witness that thou liest to God and man." At these words the astonished Dalmen turned to the Dal-Junker, and asked what he could reply to that? But the crafty stable-boy then said, "That his mother, Lady Christina, was ashamed to acknowledge him because he was born before her marriage; which the worthy Dalmen might easily perceive, since he was so much older than the date of Lord Sten's marriage." But the honest peasants thought this too great an affront put on that illustrious lady, and from that moment many abandoned his cause.

Meanwhile, he had still a large party in the northern

parishes, and these wrote to the King enumerating their causes of complaint, of which some were unreasonable, some ridiculous, and the greater part unfounded. The King answered them with the utmost moderation, refuting and explaining every point. The peasants for instance complained of the new doctrines, and "that the King and his Court eat meat upon Fridays." The King answered, "that the peasants should not trouble themselves about such matters as they did not in the least understand." The peasants complained, "that times were dear;" the King answered "that such were beyond his power to help." The peasants complained "that scalloped and slashed clothes were worn;" the King answered, "that he had compelled none to do so; but he did not choose that they should dictate to him how he was to dress his courtiers; he might follow the customs of other Princes if he pleased." With such replies, most often serious and instructive, but sometimes pleasant, they were obliged this time to content themselves. The Dal-Junker likewise left them, and went down into Wermland, where he committed all kinds of depredations, and then crossing into Norway, the dales remained for a time in quiet.

It was during this quiet that the Diet of Westeraås was held, and that Brask fled to Dantzic. This was followed by the King's coronation on the 12th of January, 1528. Gustavus had been often exhorted to this step before; but he did not choose to take the customary oath of not only protecting all his subjects, but the clergy in particular, and upholding their privileges. After the Diet of Westeraås there could be no question of such an oath, and the coronation took place with all the pomp and ceremonies usual at the time.

During these events much discontent was abroad in the land, and always against the new religion. Old Catholics could not see Lutherans eating meat on Fridays, the convents forsaken, priests marrying without offence; and that the service should be performed in Swedish was a novelty they could not tolerate. The mass had before been a sacred office known alone to the priests;—now it could be sung like a common song by the peasant lads as they drove their sledges into the forest after wood. In Småland these discontents broke into violence, and one of the King's officers was killed by the people. Matters, however, were worst in Dalarna, where Jöns had recommenced his attempts, crossing the frontiers backwards and forwards, exciting the peasants to threats and violence against the King's stewards, and even using bold and contemptuous language against himself.

Gustavus clearly saw that this was a state of things which could not longer be permitted to continue, and determined to bring it to a summary conclusion. He collected fourteen thousand men-at-arms and rode with them to the vallics, appointing Tuna as the rendezvous for the inhabitants. The Dalmen, both guilty and innocent, presented themselves. They were assembled in a body on the plain, and surrounded by the fully-armed soldiery; some cannons were also dragged forward, pointed against them, and the King himself in glistening armour, surrounded by the counsellors and body-guard, took his place in front of the assembly. One of the Lords first presented himself, and read aloud a writing addressed to the Dalmen by the rest of the inhabitants of the country, reproaching them "for their ingratitude towards the King; their aptitude to rebel, by which they brought sore troubles on themselves and the other inhabitants of the land; and their

mad pride in thinking that they possessed the right to nominate or depose the Sovereign. If the Dalmen did not put a speedy end to this, the Commons of the kingdom would certainly find means to punish them as the open enemies of his Grace, the kingdom, and all faithful subjects." This letter being read, Måns Bryntesson Liljehök addressed the people in the King's name, and asked why they had broken their oath of allegiance, and thus forgotten or ill-rewarded the pardon they had received at Tunahed where they had before been partakers in Bishop Sunnanwäder's rebellion. The Dalmen still insolent, answered that they did not know anything with which they could be reproached since that time. Måns Bryntesson told them that, "It is crime sufficient to have a traitorous and disobedient heart towards one's King, with threats and blows to meet his servants, and finally to use one's mouth in contemptuous and slanderous expressions against one's Lord and Sovereign; which according to the law of Sweden ought to be punished by death. Of all this they had been guilty, and unless they now immediately humbled themselves and promised amendment, they merited nothing but that his Grace should not permit one of them to quit the place with life." When the Dalmen heard these words, saw the soldiery and loaded cannon round about them, and opposite to them their offended Sovereign, they lost courage and begged the intercession of the Senators. Gustavus then promised them mercy if they would themselves cashier the chief partizans of the Dal-Junker, that the guilty and innocent might not be confounded. This was done; the people themselves called out the instigators of these uproars who proved to be mostly Catholic priests. They were set apart from the rest; the council examined into their conduct on the spot, and

condemned them to death. As soon as their sentence was pronounced, the executioner advanced and struck off their heads. The peasants seeing their blood, fell horror-struck on their knees, imploring the King's mercy for God's sake ; promising with hand and mouth amendment in future, and never more to put faith in any knave or traitor. Gustavus then granted them mercy and pardon, permitted them to swear a renewed oath of allegiance, and afterwards return each to his own quarters. He pursued his own way through Helsingland and Gestrikland, there also summoning the discontented peasantry, and having thus restored peace and quietness to the northern provinces returned to Stockholm.

The Dal-Junker while these events were going on had fled to Norway ; but as his deception was now known to all, he found no aid and nothing but foes there. He then took ship to Rostock, seeking to join himself to the fugitive Swedish gentlemen ; but the news of these intentions being brought to Gustavus, he despatched one of his courtiers with letters to the Burgomaster of that town, whereon Jöns was put in prison and tried ; not however for his sedition, but for the theft which he, when a stable boy, had committed. It was proved against him, and he was beheaded in 1530.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE MEETING OF ÖREBRO.

THE King intent on continuing the work to which he had laid his hand, assembled the clergy in Örebro in the beginning of the year 1529, when much regarding the disputed doctrine was settled, as well as how the Church service should be performed, for there was by that time throughout the kingdom an extraordinary mixture of

old and new forms. By the King's influence a number of papistical superstitions and false doctrines were here put an end to, but with the utmost caution, on account of the ignorant multitude. It was forbidden to mention Luther's name, for the people who knew nothing about his doctrines believed what their old priests told them, that he was a hardened and hopeless heretic. Many superstitions were still tolerated by being declared innoxious; thus for instance, it was said that holy water might be used, not as if it could wash away sins, but as a remembrance of our baptism. Pilgrimages were not requisite, for God is everywhere present; but they might be useful in procuring to men better instruction in religion. Fasting is not a divine service, it only serves to mortify the flesh,—and so on. Olaus Petri laboured on a prayer book adapted to the Swedish service which was published the same year, and was executed according to the principles adopted at this meeting. Notwithstanding that it retained many of the papal ceremonies, it gave rise to great discontent. Many of the old priests who had piously and simply read the Latin mass without either knowing or reflecting what it might contain, had grown up from childhood with the conviction that it, like the papal church-service, was holy and divine. These, without sufficient knowledge to be able to learn what the new doctrines were, considered them a godless heresy; lamented that the good old times were past, and wished that they were lying deep enough under the soil that they might not be forced to witness the evil and mischief which were spreading over the world. A great body of the common people joined with these, particularly women and old people, crying and lamenting over these novelties and the boldness of their impious Sovereign. Their well-meaning simplicity and piety was taken advantage of by some cunning Catholic priests, who wished a re-

turn of the times when they were the only possessors of power and authority. These uproars were so violent that the King was obliged to write to the evangelical clergyman, that they should go to work with the ignorant with all possible moderation, and not irritate them by impetuosity, far less by compulsion. Each one might follow his own conviction, and even the Latin service might be used by those who desired it. When they had a free choice, the people he thought, would presently themselves prefer the service in Swedish. This was done, but fragments of the Latin breviary remained till a much later date. In the old psalm-book, corroborated in 1695, several Latin psalms were retained, and in distant forest dwelling places, one may yet occasionally, though seldom, hear old superstitious peasant people reading Latin prayers, though so disguised that it is scarce possible to guess what their meaning might once have been.

Arje Marje grase domar i dike, buller i amen, Maja i more,
Mechel i brore, Messerec, Böcker bree, God's word Amen.

Ave Maria, gratius domino dico. * * * * Mariam oro, mecum
labora, miserere. Amen.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

DEAN GÖRAN.

By what has been before related of Ture Jönsson it is easy to imagine that he in his pride was little pleased with King Gustavus. Ever since the Diet of Westerås, the old man was heard to use threatening language against the heretic and tyrannical King. A dispute about an inheritance caused yet greater ill-will. Ture Jönsson, according to the righteous judgment of the Court, had been obliged to restore considerable property to Gustavus, and this he could never forget. He wrote to his friends and relations all over the country instigat-

ing them to rise; his letters had influence everywhere with the malcontents, but chiefly in West Gothland, from which province his family descended. He had been judge there himself during thirty years, and many of his ancestors before him, so that the West Gothlanders were accustomed to consider him as their lord and chief. The principal men of the province soon declared for him, and their example was followed by almost the whole of the West Gothland nobility with the single exception of Matts Kasse of Sjötorp, who neither by fair means or foul could be persuaded to take part in their proceedings, but on the contrary sought to counteract them to the utmost of his ability.

In Småland another discontent broke into open uproar as in West Gothland. The evangelical teachers whom the King had sent there after the meeting of Örebro were expelled by force. The King's brother-in-law the Count of Iloja, and his wife Margaret Wasa, who happened to be travelling through the country, were taken prisoners; and the people of several parishes and the town of Jönköping at last collected at Lekaryd Church on the 4th of April, 1529. They thence despatched letters to the insurgents in West Gothland, asking Bishop Magnus and Ture Jönsson to become their captains, and to East Gothland they despatched a letter inciting the people to expel their monarch. This sufficiently coincided with the desires of many of the East Gothlanders, but there were two circumstances which brought their plans to the ground: first that their own leader Burgomaster Nils Arwidson of Jönköping was secretly devoted to the King, and informed him of everything; and secondly, that Herr Holger Karlsson Gera of Björkwik, and Mäns Johansson Natt och Dag of Bro, two honest and much esteemed gentlemen of that province laboured with might and assiduity to counteract the insurrection.

Turē Jönsson meanwhile was not a little elated at the assistance he expected from Småland, but his chief hopes were fixed on his sons, of whom he had three, all men of power and importance. The eldest Sir Johan Turesson was a tall, handsome and distinguished man, who had during sixteen years served foreign Princes and Kings, and lastly the Emperor Charles V with the greatest distinction. He returned to Sweden in 1525, with the intention of leaving it again immediately, but the King did all in his power to retain this experienced warrior in his service. He gave him large fiefs, appointed him a member of the Senate, favoured the marriage which was soon after concluded between him and Sten Sture's widow; and thus linked, Sir Johan remained in his own country. It was on this son that Ture Jönsson built his greatest hopes, especially after his marriage. All Sture's partisans would henceforward become his; Johan and Christina, soon jealous of their sovereign, would partake in the conspiracies of the other malcontents. Thus argued Ture Jönsson, but he was deceived. The son and the woman surpassed the father and the old man in reason and loyalty. Sir Johan cautioned his father against these foolish and ruinous plots; and not the least shadow of doubt can be cast on Christina Gyllenstjerna's fidelity to Gustavus Wasa. As she had before shown herself, thus this generous woman remained, virtuous, high minded, and true in every change.

The second son, Lars of Penningeby, resembled his brother Johan. Like him he was united to another Lady Christina Gyllenstjerna; like him he was favoured and esteemed by the King; like him he ever detested his father's unworthy machinations and remained faithful to his Sovereign. Ture Jönsson now wrote several letters to these two sons seeking to incite them to rebellion; it was a hard trial for their virtue, but they

determined not even for his sake to sin against their country. They journeyed night and day, delivered the letters with seals yet unbroken to the King, and promised in his cause to sacrifice life and all that was theirs, though their father had entered on this mad and criminal undertaking.

Herr Göran, Ture Jönsson's youngest son, showed himself however very different. He was Dean in Upsala, and we have already seen how he in 1526 disputed with King Gustavus about the Decretals. When Göran received his father's letters, with information of the rebellion in Småland and West Gothland, he thought the hour was come to expel the King, and he was determined to lend his best assistance in the deed. He set off for Björnö his estate in the parish of Frötuna, where he assembled a body of runaway peasant lads, and took a hundred of them into his service as his body-guard. Though no danger was at hand, he did not long venture to tarry at his own house, but marched into a wood in the neighbourhood, felled trees for barricades all round, and caused a supply of provisions to be brought there. Hatred for the King, and dread of him disturbed the heart of the poor Dean.

Gustavus imagined at first that Göran acted thus through fear of being made to suffer for his father's crime; he therefore sent him a message bidding him keep quiet, for he had no cause or apprehension, and letters at the same time reached him from his brothers and other relatives, desiring him not to take part in his father's machinations; but Dean Göran remained as hostile and as fearful as ever. He retired yet farther from the King, through Roslag and Gestrikland to Helsingland, causing his father's letters to be published everywhere on his passage, and expelling the Lutheran clergymen by force. The farther from

Stockholm, the bolder he became, till at last arrived as far as Bollnäs Church, where he was assisted by both the priest and the peasants, he took the King's steward prisoner, and quartered himself in the parsonage. These disorders were talked of in the neighbouring parishes, and the people were uncertain how they ought to proceed. There was another priest named Erik at Norrala, an honest man, faithful to the King, and looked up to by his parishioners. He summoned them without delay, exhorted them to loyalty and resolution, and marched at their head towards Bollnäs to imprison the refractory Dean. The latter was standing at a garret window, whence from afar he perceived the Norrala men approaching; being no great hero or leader, he rushed down stairs, glided through a back door out into the forest, in his terror forgetting to give his men the slightest hint of the impending danger. They were therefore surprised and made prisoners by the Norrala men, who set the King's steward at liberty. Erik now called the Bollnäs peasants together, and reproached them for their levity and disloyalty with such energy that they fell to their prayers. Erik then informed them that they could best regain the King's favour by seeking and delivering up their fugitive leader. To this they joyfully agreed, and commenced their hunt. He meanwhile, full of anguish and alarm, had wandered about the wide wood, not knowing what he was to do, and came at last to a large forest lake called Ilerten, where he entered a little boat, and pushed out from land, thinking himself thus in greater safety. Some of the Bollnäs pursuers presently saw him, as he was sitting alone; silently and expeditiously they pushed off in other small craft on the pursuit, and rowed towards him unremarked. When the Dean perceived that there was no rescue for him, in his despair he

wanted to jump into the water; but before he could manage to do so, the peasants arrived and held him fast; however in his bitterness he tore the gold chain from his neck, drew the rings from off his fingers, and cast them far out into the lake, preferring to see his treasures committed to the deep, than fall into the power of the King he hated.

He was conveyed to Upsala and Stockholm where he was permitted to enjoy every comfort, but was kept in strict confinement till his father's insurrection was quelled. He was then set free, and his property restored; on account of his brother's loyalty, Gustavus would not act more severely with him, perhaps also he thought he had not much to fear from such an adversary as Dean Göran.

CHAPTER XXXV.

HANS HARDY.

THE gentlemen of West Gothland persisted in their criminal complot, though letters were addressed to them from several parts of the country warning them to desist from further trials of the sort. Fearing however lest the King should gain any certain information of their proceedings, they placed a guard of a thousand men at Hlofwa to prevent any message from West Gothland crossing the Tiweden, and thus reaching the capital. A priest called Nils of Hvalstad who had formerly been Steward of the Bishop at Läckö, and who heartily detested King Gustavus, was placed at the head of this watch. To him the insurgents sent their letters, that he might forward them safely to their owners in Sweden. In this manner, the King could not know what was taking place in West Gothland, which however was a matter of the utmost importance to him.

There was at this time a young town-sergeant in Stockholm, who for his boldness was known by the name of Hans Hardy; he was born a native of West Gothland, and knowing the people and the roads of his own province equally well, was chosen to bring the King certain information of what was going on. By forest paths and by-ways, Hans passed the outposts at Tiweden, and reached his relations safely, with whom he spent some weeks. Having acquired the information he wanted, he bought a quantity of West Gothland cheese, and then set out for Tiweden again, managing purposely to fall into the hands of the guard. Nils of Hvalstad charged him roundly with being a spy; he however pretended the greatest simplicity, said "that he had not been in Upland for four years, but now intended to go and dispose of his cheese." This excuse however was of no avail; he was carried back to the sergeant's house at Hofwa, and four men were set to guard him. Hans Hardy seemed to be equally well pleased, eat and drank, paying everything generously, so that the sergeant was very well satisfied with him; however some days after he pretended to fall sick, sighed and groaned, took to bed, and seemed to be in a sad extremity, so that they all began to pity the poor cheesemonger, and his guardians often left him long hours to himself, thinking his sickness was security sufficient. Hans Hardy had meanwhile remarked Nils to keep a box in a dark corner of the room, and imagined that this might contain something regarding the plots of the insurgents. Being one day alone, he got up quietly, took the box, opened it, and found in it a number of letters from Ture Jönsson, Mäns Bryntesson, Ture Bjelke and others of the principal conspirators; these addressed to their partisans in Sweden, contained full proofs of their machinations.

When Hans had looked through some of them, he shut them again into the box, and put it back into its corner. After this he began moaning and lamenting not less than before, so that every one imagining him to be at the point of death, thought no longer of watching him. But at night when all were sleeping, he ceased his groaning, got up quietly, got possession of the box, glided softly out of the house, and once into the forest, it was not easy to catch him. In this way he escaped, and reached the King safely with his casket of letters, who rewarded him liberally, but commanded him to keep the secret; and no one knew for a long time where Hans Hardy had been, or what had become of the lost despatches.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE WESTGOTHA INSURRECTION.

THE Westgotha Lords had meanwhile come to the resolution to nominate a new King, and to that purpose had elected Ture Jönsson's brother-in-law, Mäns Bryntesson Liljekök, a tall, handsome, and eloquent young man; in his person very suitable for a King—not so in his mind. He was soft, irresolute, not very profound, for which reason he was no dangerous rival for Gustavus Wasa. When the conspirators treated him with royal honours, he imagined himself certain of his new distinctions, and commenced holding Court with princely pomp, supplying the deficiencies in his own means, by loans from his friends of whom his brother-in-law was chief. All being in readiness, Ture Jönsson sent out a summons through the land calling the Commons of West Gothland to meet him on Larfva Heath, where he had something of the highest importance to lay before them.

A great plain lies by Larf Church, where the West Gothlanders from the remotest times used to hold their Tings and meetings. It was here that Ture Jönsson had appointed the rendezvous this time likewise, and they collected in great numbers. Surrounded by the insurgent Lords, proud of his power and authority, Sir Ture presented himself to the peasants, no wise doubting that they would say "yes" to all that he proposed to them. "I thank ye, good men!" thus he began his speech; "that you have always considered me as your head and foreman, as well as showed me all obedience and duty as the eldest and chief of your nobles, which has ever been, and shall ever be to your profit if you will henceforward show me the same obedience. Former Kings have often sought to force upon us that which was against our temporal well-being; but now we have got a King who seeks the detriment of our souls. Not content with having himself fallen from Christianity and become a Lutheran, he profanes and plunders churches and convents, and wants to introduce a new faith into this country to the ruin of the common people. Now I have always understood that the good West Gothlanders have no mind to become Lutherans, but prefer to retain the old faith which their fathers and forefathers have had before them. If you will from this day renounce King Gustavus, I will give you a mild and gracious Sovereign, who will preserve to you your good old customs."

After this speech Bishop Magnus of Skara stood up and said; "Neither, good men, need ye stand in much dread of the oath of allegiance you swore to King Gustavus; the Holy Father in Rome has power enough to deliver you, and I will arrange that you shall presently be relieved from it." The Bishop ceased. "Let him," resumed Ture Jönsson, "who gives his consent to take

a new King, stretch up his hands." No single hand was raised, no answer was heard from the peasants, save a low whisper and a murmur amongst them. Ture Jönsson and Bishop Magnus knew not what to make of this; Mäns Bryntesson who a moment before expected to be called for, and receive their homage, sat silent and trembling in his place behind. At last two young peasants stepped forward to answer in the name of the multitude.

"We peasants," said one of them with a loud voice, "have nothing wherewithal to charge King Gustavus, but on the contrary owe him much more gratitude for having freed both us and the kingdom from the cruel King Christian's tyrannical government, and kept the land to law and right, as well as in peace and quiet incc. What ye, good Sirs, say of the new faith, we peasants can neither understand nor judge; perhaps it may not be so bad as fame reports. Change of rulers generally costs the peasants and the land dear, and we might by these means draw on ourselves and our children long disquiet and disorder. It seems therefore best to us to remain in the faith and allegiance which we have sworn and promised to our lawful Lord and master Gustaf Eriksson."

The spokesman ceased, but the rest of the assembled body, by loud acclamations and upstretched hands, made their approbation appear of what he had spoken.

At this answer, Mans Bryntesson's loyalty, Ture Jönsson's presumption, and the courage of the conspirators fell to the ground. They knew not what they should say, still less what they should do. In addition, they feared that the peasants would lay hands upon them on the spot as instigators to disorder. In his anguish Ture Jönsson then told them "that he by this

trial had wished to prove their fidelity, the Lords had themselves no intention of abandoning the King, and a fortnight thence, they and the peasants should meet to consult further on their mutual interests."

Thus ended the meeting on Larfva Heath. The peasants dispersed and returned each to his own home.

The conspirators now found themselves in a perilous situation ; they perceived it was vain here to attempt any open war against the King, they therefore sent a message to Tiweden desiring the camp should be broken up, and that Nils of Hvalstad should join them without delay. On his arrival they asked what had become of the letters that had been entrusted to him ; he, not daring to relate that they had disappeared, said he had burnt them when he had heard of the unsuccessful termination of the meeting at Larf. Nils Arwidson, the Burgomaster of Jönköping, was next called for, and asked to give an account of the letters he had received. The Burgomaster who as we have before said was a devoted royalist, had taken good care of these letters and sent them to the King ; in their place he now produced a budget of other papers, which he during this conversation threw into the fire without showing their contents, saying they might now be at rest regarding the despatches, which should never more appear to witness against them. They were then relieved. Måns Bryntesson, Turc Bjeke and Nils Winge were young, rich, and accustomed to a comfortable life. To leave wife and children, house and home, and wander through foreign countries seemed to them a fate than which death would be scarcely less bitter ; they preferred rather to trust to fortune ; they had not spoken a word at the meeting at Larf ; their letters were burnt ; nothing could therefore be brought or proved against. They resolved to remain.

Not so Ture Jönsson and Bishop Magnus. Many thousand witnesses could prove their rebellious addresses at Larfva Heath; neither was King Gustavus the man to be put off like the Westgotha peasantry with the pretence that the meeting had been made to try the faith of the people. They dared not risk their lives by remaining; but collecting their money and valuables without delay, hastened over the frontier of Holland into the Danish territories.

After the attempt at Larfva, the courage of conspiring parties both in West Gothland and Småland fell, and the disturbances were easily quelled. The King's faithful officers travelled about, holding meetings with the malcontents, promising by the King's letters-patent, pardon to those who repented, confessed and renounced their crimes; engaging for faith and obedience in future. The greater number accepted the conditions; not so Måns Bryntesson, Nils Winge, and Ture Bjelke. Trusting to their letters having been destroyed, they thought nothing could be proved against them, and they were too proud to confess their faults and implore forgiveness without compulsion. They therefore wrote to the King, saying that as they felt themselves entirely guiltless in this matter, they could by no means as he required, plead guilty and implore pardon, for they desired to be free from all suspicion. They therefore begged him to appoint a meeting at which their conduct might be examined into. Their request was granted, and the States were summoned to meet at Strängnäs on the 17th of June.

The three Lords just mentioned, presented themselves publicly before the tribunal appointed, and were exhorted freely to confess their share in Ture Jönsson's rebellion. Måns Bryntesson then answered for the rest, boldly and at large: "That they had not ventured

to set themselves against Ture Jönsson on account of his great weight in the province ; that they had often heard him speak disrespectfully of the King, which they attributed to his old age and childishness, for which reason they had sometimes held with him for fun's sake ; but they had borne no share in his treachery, which could never be proved against them." Then said the King: "What will you venture that it can yet be proved against you?" They answered: "Our neck to the sword, and our bodies to the wheel, as the law exacts." "Take care," said one of the Counsellors then, "do not adventure so much. Perhaps you may yet be found guilty." But they replied by a haughty "No," and insisted on their innocence. King Gustavus then spoke again, fixing his earnest glance upon them: "Choose now one of these two! Either to confess yourselves guilty and accept your pardon, or to be tried and condemned according to law." They replied: "We choose to be judged according to the law, and if we may be found partakers in this rebellion, we will willingly suffer and pay for it, as we may be adjudged worthy."

A perfect silence reigned through the hall ; all eyes were fixed on the King and on the accused. He gave a sign to his servants, two boxes were then carried in, opened, and a number of letters produced. The King again asked the culprits if they recognised these letters ; but still they denied. They were then read aloud and displayed the completest proofs of their treachery ; and the judges plainly recognised the hand and seal of the defendants. These, pale and thunderstruck, heard their letters repeated. When all was done, they fell on their knees, weeping and imploring mercy for God's sake. It was too late. Gustavus ordered the Council to examine the matter without delay, and pronounce their

sentence, on which the three criminals, according to the law of the land, were condemned as traitors, to loss of life and estate—on which they were carried into prison.

They were shut up in a room above the school house; a strong guard was set before the door, and they were left to the contemplation of their approaching fate. In their despair they looked round for some means of flight; and finally thought they had discovered one. Their window was unprovided with bars, for it was situated high above the ground; immediately below it stood a pear tree so near the building that they thought they might succeed in catching its branches as they leapt from the window, and afterwards clamber down its trunk to the ground. They therefore awaited the hour when all had gone to rest, and hoped in the light summer night to put their flight into execution. Måns Bryntesson was to make the first trial: he leapt from the window, but missing the tree, fell to the ground and broke one of his legs in the fall. Life however is dear. He mastered his torments in silence, and crept from the garden into a field beyond. His strength would carry him no farther, and there he lay concealed in the half-grown rye. The others did not dare to make a similar attempt.

On the following morning when he was missed, it was easy in the trodden-down grass to follow the trace of the unfortunate. He was soon found and carried back to prison, and thence with the others to Stockholm. Ture Bjelke, the least guilty, received grace; but was obliged to pay heavy penalties; the efforts of the relations of the other two, by tears and entreaties to mollify the King, were in vain. He desired henceforward to prevent any from having a mind to disturb the quiet of the kingdom. Måns Bryntesson and Nils Winge were both soon after beheaded, and ex-

posed on the wheel ; their estates were, however, restored to their widows and children.

A report was next spread in West Gothland and Småland, that Gustavus was coming, notwithstanding the pardon he had granted, to make strict inquiries into the state of affairs ; to hang, rack, and punish them as the tyrant King Christian had done on his Eriksgata. This news was industriously fomented by those who wished to instigate the people against the King. Again he despatched his faithful friends to quiet and instruct the people, and gave the same charge to his stewards. He perceived that it was the new doctrines, especially the Recess of Westerås which excited the indignation of the ignorant, because they neither knew nor understood anything regarding them ; and the lies which the King's enemies invented and spread on the subject were chiefly believed and repeated. He therefore printed, and caused to be read to the Commons throughout the country, a long circular in which he again replied to every complaint which was made against his Government, proving even to the most obstinate, that the greater part were either falsehoods, or regarded such matters as were out of the power of humanity to assist. He further, in a similar document, explained the reasons and the nature of the Recess of Westerås. The people in general saw that the King was right, and that all was for their own advantage ; and discontents gradually decreased in spite of many who wished to foment them for their own sakes.

Ture Jönsson and Bishop Magnus had stopped in their flight at Helsingborg ; Gustavus wrote with his own hand to Ture, begging him to return, and promising him forgiveness for the sake of his sons. Similar letters were despatched to Bishop Magnus. They replied " that they would never consent to the Recess

of Westeraås; were it abrogated they would willingly return to the kingdom, otherwise not." The revengeful Ture Jönsson even sent some hired ruffians into West Gothland, who set fire to Matts Kafle's house and farm. Gustavus then recalled his warrant of safe-conduct for these obdurate offenders, and they were condemned at the Diet of Strängnäs to the loss of life and estates, though those of Ture were restored to his two faithful sons. He also wrote to King Fredrick that, according to their treaty, the insurgents should be banished from Denmark. Fredrick desiring to show himself as peace-maker, answered that he, with the Senate of the three kingdoms, would settle the dispute between the King of Sweden and the rebels; which offer Gustavus entirely rejected, though in a friendly manner. The fugitives, however, together with Gustaf Trolle, continued to find protection in Denmark. Disquieting reports, regarding armaments there in preparation, reached Sweden, and the magnanimous Christina Gyllenstjerna even informed Gustavus herself, that Ture Jönsson, with the assistance of the Danes, was labouring to set her son Swante Sture on the throne. Gustavus then began to arm, and wrote serious representations at the same time to Denmark. But neither was that country quiet; rumours were afloat that the expelled Christian the Tyrant, was returning with a mighty army. Fredrick dared not, in such circumstances, bring on himself the displeasure of Gustavus; and the Swedish malcontents were expelled. They then turned to Albrecht, Duke of Mecklenburg, one of Gustavus' constant enemies, and remained some time at his Court, where Ture Jönsson was often heard with his usual pride to boast, "So esteemed and beloved am I in Sweden, that had I two or three thousand well-armed men I would presently conquer the whole country."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

BEGINNING OF THE BELL-WAR, OR THE THIRD REBELLION IN DALARNA.

LÜBECK had yet claims on the Swedish Government, the payment of which she urged with vehemence. It was therefore, in 1530, determined that the town churches should give up their superfluous bells to this effect. In former times it had been counted a great merit to present a bell to a church, so that four or five were to be found in several parishes. The citizens, less superstitious, and better acquainted with the necessities of the kingdom, agreed without much resistance to these conditions; but the whole debt was far from covered by this sacrifice. A new meeting was therefore fixed to take place in Örebro in 1531, in which it was determined that the same tax should likewise be claimed from the country parishes. Where there were many, the second in size was to be given up; and where there was but one it was to be redeemed at half its value. In addition the whole tithes of that year, excepting as much alone as was requisite for wax and wine, was to be applied to the payment of the debt. That the peasants might be certain that the bells were used for the purpose ascribed, and not by the King for other objects, he offered himself that some honest and trust-worthy men should take account of the procedures in this matter for their satisfaction.

Spite of these precautions, Gustavus feared the carrying off of the bells would excite great annoyance, if not disturbance among the superstitious people. He therefore sent out his old tried friends to speak with the countrymen; and by informing them of the necessity of these proceedings, prepare a fortunate issue. Both the brothers Roos, and four other nobles visited six

of the chief provinces of the kingdom; their words took effect, the peasants gave in, and that same winter the bells were conveyed from all directions towards the sea-ports appointed for their embarkation.

Matters, however, did not long proceed so quietly.

The more raw and ignorant a people are, the less are they capable of embracing the true spirit of the doctrines of salvation; instead of self-denial, humility and charity to all men, they imagine piety to consist in long prayers, in magnificent church services, presents to churches, obedience to the Pope, and so on; and such was the belief of the Swedes of those days. It is not therefore extraordinary that it cut them to the quick to see the bells carried away, which the monks had taught them to consider as most holy things. Other events had also contributed to irritate them. A general and most disastrous epidemic which broke out throughout the country in 1529 had occasioned great ravages. "It is God's punishment on the great heresy of this land," cried the monks; and the people believed them. The Dalmen, twice tamed by the King, showed themselves even now the most refractory. When his attorneys arrived, they however gave up their bells throughout the southern parishes.

Måns Nilsson of Aspeboda, had formerly, on several occasions, been of great assistance to King Gustavus; but to permit the consecrated, anointed, and christened bells to be carried away, appeared to Måns Nilsson to be going too far, and to be a very great impiety. It grieved his spirit equally that the Dalmen, for whom he considered himself almost as a head and a chief, should so often have been humbled before the King. He had besides grown rich, and with his purse his pride increased. The peasants have yet a saying that his horses were shod with silver, and the largest and richest

vein in the Fahlun copper mines, is still called by his name.

Several peasants from Leksand, Gagnefs, and Ås, now visited him, asking his opinion of how they ought to conduct themselves in this business. He answered: "You shall give the King's messengers as many blows as they can contrive to carry. From this day forth I will never more hold with King Gustavus, but rather do him all the mischief I can. I have enough, both money and might to set myself up against him. It may well make us angry who live here beyond Long-Heath,* to see the King marching hither as often, and as strong as he pleases, crossing the Brunbäck river without our permission, which no King before him ever ventured to do. Therefore shall ye, Dalmen, be your own masters, and not suffer yourselves to be ringed in, as happened lately on Tuna plain."

Similar discourses were also held by Anders Persson of Rankhytta, one of Gustavus's former friends; their words spread like wild-fire through the villages, and took great effect. The King's messengers were turned back with blows, but without bells; those who had already given up theirs resumed them by force; the men of Tuna their large bell from Hedeboda, the others theirs from Westerås without heeding the King's presence; on the contrary, many a proud and threatening word reached his ears. The Dalmen wanted to choose Mäns Nilsson for their leader, he refused; but at his instigation, they chose Nils of Söderby, another peasant of considerable consideration, who marched about with a rabble of people, plundering both royal and private property, and placed finally a guard at Brunbäck ferry, to prevent the King from crossing.

* Långhed is a woody ridge which stretches from Westerås northwards towards the Dal river, where it forms the boundary between Dalarna and Westmanland.

The spirit of misrule spread, but not far. The peasants of Torsåker carried back their bells from Gefle; in some other parishes, and in Nerike, the bells were defended by force, but the rest of the country remained quiet; both the bells and that year's tithes being made over without opposition.

Gustavus hoped at first by reason and moderation to set these mistaken men to rights; warning letters and messages were sent them, both from the Senate, the burghers of Stockholm, and other districts, and even from the King, who said: "If the good Dalmen could offer better counsel for the payment of the national debt he would accept it; but they ought, however, to reflect that if they did not themselves pay the reckoning, their children would one day have to do it." Thus he wrote, and thus he cautioned; but the people made a mockery of his words, and drove his messengers away. "It is the Dalmen's day for rioting," said the King; "when our turn comes, we shall see what fortune God grants us." And so saying, he seemed to take no further notice of the whole commotion.

After this he summoned the peasants of Upland to Upsala on the 18th of May. The King, in glittering armour, sat on horseback on one of the mounds, surrounded by the chief Lords of the kingdom, and accompanied by a great body of men-at-arms. The peasantry stood before him, and according to his custom he harangued them himself. They showed themselves perverse and unmanageable. He at last asked them "why so many among them were so refractory and contumacious." No answer was heard, but a muttering and grumbling amongst the whole assembly, accompanied by here and there a threat, or angry word. Then the King's blood began to boil; he drew out his sword, brandished it before their eyes, bounded forward on his

horse, and said : " I will no longer endure your evil tongues, I would rather your blows. Therefore take courage and begin ; I with my company will try which can master the field !" The terrified peasants then fell on their knees, and promised never again to resist his will.

To the other provinces, which had remained faithful, he despatched letters of thanks, and exhortations to continue so ; likewise copies of some of Ture Jönsson's and Gustaf Trolle's treacherous letters, containing proposals for the recall of Christian the Tyrant ; and this was quite sufficient to frighten the people from any thought of abandoning Gustavus.

On his side, he did all in his power to keep them in good humour. The Helsinglanders, and all those who had remained faithful, and rejected the instigations to rebellion, received a diminution of their taxes. He invited, besides, the principal peasants in the neighbourhood of Stockholm from one parish after the other, making banquets for them, in which he entertained them by turns with merry chat and jokes, and good advice in the management of their household affairs.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF QUEEN CATHERINE OF SAXE-LAUENBURG.

THE States had often reminded the King that he ought to marry : but accounting the throne of Sweden too unquiet a place for a woman, he had hitherto not heeded this advice ; the time was now however come for him to make a choice, but he determined it should not fall on a daughter of the home nobility ; he thought the nobles sufficiently proud and imperious, not to increase their arrogance by becoming so nearly connected with the throne. He therefore elected his bride from

a foreign principality, and his choice fell on Catherine, Princess of Saxe-Lauenburg. She and her father were devoted to the Lutheran religion, which was a matter of prime importance with him. The elder sister was married to Christian the Crown Prince of Denmark, so that it seemed to promise friendship and security on that side. As the Princess herself was described as mild and beautiful, every thing appeared to render this marriage desirable. Her father granted his consent, and in July 1531, Gustavus equipped a fleet and sent his sister Margaret, Countess of Hjoja, on board the same, accompanied by Lars Siggeson Sparre, Birger Nilsson Grip, Gustavus Stenbock and many other noble lords, ladies, and maidens to carry home the bride. When these arrived at Lauenburg, the Duke seemed to hesitate: he had heard news of the disturbances in Dalarna, as well as of Christian's armaments, which Charles V was said to assist; he feared for his daughter's safety on a throne thus threatened, and tried to draw out the time. When Gustavus heard this, he wrote Lars Siggeson positive orders, without the slightest delay to demand and obtain the Duke's definitive answer; and if he still sought to procrastinate to set out, and put an end to the whole treaty. Thus pressed, the Duke did not longer hesitate. The Princess, accompanied by her mother and several of her relations, went on board the Swedish fleet; and on the 8th of September set foot on the quay of Stockholm. On the 24th the marriage was celebrated in the Castle with all possible pomp and magnificence; the ceremony was performed by Laurentius Petri, who not long before had been elected Archbishop. Tilts and tournaments were to be held, and the place appointed for them was the Castle hill, under the windows of the ball room. Sir Lars Siggeson Sparre, and

Sir Birger Nilsson Grip rode first against each other, with so great and such equal strength that they were both at the same time pitched from their saddles. They were followed by many other pairs. A knight of Holstein who had come in the suite of the young Queen, named Schach von Ahncfelt, a tall and handsome man, distinguished himself much. Peter Swenske surnamed the Little, presented himself as his opponent; twice they rode against each other, and Schach being both times thrown from his saddle, would not adventure a third trial. To increase the joys of the bridal, Gustavus sought out advantageous matches for some of his faithful friends. It was then he affianced Birger Nilsson Grip to his sister's daughter, Fröken Brita Brahe, and Gustaf Stenbock, to Fröken Brita Lejonhufwud, with the approval of their families. The marriage festivals lasted eight days. The Duchess of Lauenburg then took leave of her daughter and son-in-law, and travelled through Denmark home again.

Thus this marriage commenced with much joy, but its continuation was very different. Catherine, capricious and fanciful, could never gain her husband's love, neither did she herself know how to value him. Indifference and dislike ever predominated between them, and of this unhappy marriage was born to the unhappiness of Sweden, the unfortunate and unhappy, Erik XIV.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CHRISTIAN THE TYRANT'S LAST CAMPAIGN.

THE exiled Christian had for several years gone from Court to Court among the German Princes seeking help from each in turn; meeting with scorn and contempt from some, and refusal from all, even from his near

kindred. In his despair he now took a number of soldiers of fortune and adventurers into his service whom a peace lately concluded had left without masters. With these, to the number of twelve thousand, he ravaged Holland, one of his brother-in-law the Emperor Charles' many dominions, who partly in compassion, partly that he might without further expensès get rid of such a troublesome guest, paid him the fifty thousand guldens yet due on Isabella's dower, and gave him twelve battle ships besides ; even the Dutch themselves aided in supplying him that they might be quit of him. The news of these preparations brought the Swedish malcontents to his side, with Gustaf Trolle, Ture Jöns-son and Magnus Strömfelt at their head. Full of hope they wrote home to their friends and relations, exhorting them to take Christian's part, and Ture Jöns-son told Christian that they would not find a single man at arms in Gustavus's service. Gustaf Trolle was despatched to Norway, where he contrived so artfully to engage the clergy and nobility that they subscribed large sums in money and plate, and sent them to Christian. With this assistance the preparations were finally completed ; and on the 25th of October, the fleet, consisting of twenty-five ships with eight thousand men on board, sailed from the Dutch coast. But the elements and the ocean protected the North ; the fleet was dispersed and almost half of it sunk by a violent storm from the east. With only fifteen vessels, Christian on the 9th of November landed at Obslo.

Gustaf Trolle hastened from Trondhem to his rencounter. A Diet was held in Obslo, where Christian was unanimously proclaimed King ; the whole country declared for him, with the exception of a few nobles, who however held the strongest Castles in their hands.

Among these was Magnus Gyllenstjerna, the com-

mandant of Aggerhus. Christian turned all his forces against it, and would have easily mastered it, for it was insufficiently provided with provision, and had but a small garrison, had not Magnus saved himself by a successful stratagem. He said that he neither could nor would defend the Castle, for it was weak, and he himself witnessed Christian's success with pleasure; nevertheless, to save appearances, he begged leave to ask assistance from King Fredrick before the 1st of May, after which he would willingly surrender the Castle. Christian, the old deceiver, was himself deceived, and turned from the place. At Gyllenstjerna's demand a thousand men were despatched from Denmark expeditiously and with secrecy, who marching over mountains and through forests, threw themselves into Aggerhus. Christian enraged, hurried back again to besiege the place, but Gyllenstjerna was now in a condition powerfully to resist all his attacks.

Ture Jönsson had with a portion of Christian's army turned his arms on Bohuslän; he made preparations for besieging the fortress of Bohus, however wrote first the following letter to the Danish commandant Klass Bille:

"Our kind and friendly greeting be with you, in God's name. Dear Herr Klas, good friend! Learn that the most high and puissant Prince, King Christian, our well beloved and gracious Sovereign, has come personally into his country and kingdom of Norway to visit his faithful subjects in the name of the Holy Trinity." He further wrote in many words how that King Christian had been improved by his reverses and was quite changed, so that nothing but good was to be expected from him; for which reasons Ture Jönsson as a friend now advised Herr Klas to side with his Grace without delay. The letter concluded as was customary

in those days, "Commending you with your dear wife, children, and friends hereby to God's protection."

To this letter on the next day the following answer was received:

"Greeting suited to the season.

"Learn Ture Jönsson that I yesterday received thy writing with some of thy loose words with which thou thoughtest to seduce me from my honour, soil my integrity and oath, and make me like thyself, which God, who preserves the consciences of all honest men, forbid. To the long and false talk which thy letter contains, I confess myself, by God's providence, to be too good to give thee any better answer than this which my letter conveys. Thou hast so often turned and worn thy coat, and it is now so miserably threadbare on both sides, that it is no longer fit to appear amongst the apparel of any honest man. No more this time. I commend thee to him to whom God the Father commended that man who betrayed His only Son, *Ex Bahus*. Sunday next before Lady-day, 1531."

Such was the answer Ture Jönsson got to his letter; balls and blows when he attempted to storm. All his efforts against Sir Klas Bille and the Castle of Bohus proved fruitless.

Meanwhile he and the other fugitives sent letters to every part of Sweden, exhorting to rebellion against King Gustavus. Karlsborg, a Swedish fortress in Wiken was besieged; the commander shot, the Castle taken and destroyed; presently Christian and his united army marched in Bohuslän; and clad with hope, the Swedish exiles approached the frontiers of their native land.

But neither were Gustavus and Fredrick idle: they renewed and confirmed their mutual treaty in the firmest manner, and exhorted each other's subjects

to loyalty and resolution. Gustavus made great preparations, and raised as many men as he could collect; but with his usual prudence he wrote to his officers that they were not to fight with Christian unless they were four or six times as strong, so that they might be certain of victory, and make him such resistance that he should lose all desire in future of returning to Sweden.

He sent paternal exhortations to every part of his kingdom; and his people remained true to him; Christian the Tyrant, and Gustaf Trolle were not the men to incite the Swedes to rebellion. Even the Dalmen who were at this time not quiet, resisted all attempts at union with these detested Princes. "We remember well enough," they answered, "the Christian kindness which Gustaf Trolle on Good Friday* showed to us poor Swedish men, which charity was a headsmen's and not a Bishop's business. Turn not your fancy nor your nose hither; for if you, with your troop and party think of coming up here to us, know that we are all of such a mind, and so agreed, that as long as pikes and lances last, we will hazard our necks, as many in the valleys as are fifteen years old. Remember that you and your partisans have never been faithful and true to Swedish men. Therefore we, common men, renounce you altogether."

The Swedish forces collected meanwhile in Lödöse; and under the command of Lars Siggeson Sparre, marched to Kungelf where King Christian was. He himself was looking on as the Swedes were crossing the frozen river towards Hisingen; among them were three thousand men in polished steel. Christian then turned to Ture Jönsson who was standing by him, and said: "Thou saidst that there was not a man at arms in Sweden. What seest thou yonder? Dost think

* See Part II, Book XII. Chapter IX.

these are old women?" The following morning Ture Jönsson's headless body was found lying in the street; it is unknown if King Christian thus rewarded his boastful lies, or if some Swede in his wrath thus punished the old traitor.

Meanwhile, a desultory warfare commenced in the province of Bohus, at first with equal advantage on either side; but afterwards only on that of the Swedes. Christian was in want of provisions, and his foragers were beaten wherever they appeared, so that his army by hunger and the sword, dwindled to two thousand men, with whom he marched back to Obslo.

The Swedes had alone borne the brunt of Christian's first attack; and Gustavus was not slow to make Fredrick aware of this. It was not till March 1532, that some Danish ships of war arrived, burnt Christian's vessels, and re-garrisoned Aggerhus; and in May the united fleets of Denmark and Lübeck sailed towards Norway. The commander was Knut Gyllenstjerna, Bishop of Odensee, brother of Magnus of Aggerhus, and was provided with full powers to act and order in Fredrick's room. His remaining vessels burnt, his storehouses destroyed, Christian's followers abandoned him in troops; no hopes either of assistance or resistance were left him. He then wrote to Bishop Knut imploring compassion, and asking counsel. He received that of throwing himself on Fredrick's mercy; and Christian perceived in his distress he had no good conditions to hope from the Danes. He therefore contrived to get some forged letters distributed in their camp, with the information that twenty Dutch men of war with five thousand troops on board were coming to his relief. Craft and cunning thus signalized his last feats; this time they availed him for the moment. The Danish commanders, alarmed at the report, con-

cluded peace with him on conditions that the participants in the rebellion should be pardoned. Christian was to cross over to Denmark, and could he not agree with his uncle, was to be free to leave it for Germany, on giving a solemn oath never again to make any attempt on the three kingdoms. When this treaty was to be confirmed, messengers arrived from Fredrick, who having ascertained Christian's hopeless condition, insisted on his surrendering unconditionally. But Knut Gyllenstjerna kept by his former power of attorney, and sailed with Christian to Denmark. Then this Prince, once so proud and powerful, sent to his uncle a letter full of repentance and submission. Amongst other things he wrote: "We now come like the lost son to you, not only as our well-beloved uncle, but as our regenerate brother in Christ, imploring consolation, comfort, and support. We trust in God that you will kindly look at our great and long sufferings, which have compelled us to this act. God Almighty knows that it is not caused by any spirit of revenge, or desire of punishment on our adversaries."

Fredrick and the Council were in a strait as to whether they could break the conditions already made. Bishop Knut opined that they might be broken, producing some frivolous reasons as the pretext. These were accepted, and it was determined that Christian should be a prisoner for life in the Castle of Sonderburg in the island of Femern. King Fredrick and his son were even forced to give the Danish nobles a written promise that they would never release that feared and detested Prince.

The consultations lasted five days, during which Christian was obliged to lie before Copenhagen and wait. Some Senators at last came on board saying that Fredrick was in Flensburg, and there was waiting

for Christian. The ships hoisted anchor and steered in that direction ; but he saw with alarm that they passed that town, and perceived that he had been deceived. He wept bitterly, and lamented that "he had fallen into the hands of men who cared neither for oaths, promises, nor seals," but none heeded his complaints. He was carried deep into the dungeons of Sonderburg Castle ; and a dwarf, who was in his service, given him as his only companion. They were left in a dark and narrow prison vault in want of every convenience ; the door was walled up with the exception of one small aperture, through which, and a little iron barred window the unhappy prisoner received food and light ; but a very scanty allowance of both.

Thus he passed twelve years without the slightest change or improvement. In 1544 the door was opened, and he received fresh air and other conveniences, still under the same strict watch ; but in 1549 none thought there was more to fear from an old man now sixty-eight. He was therefore carried to Kallundborg Castle, where he received permission to entertain himself with hunting or whatever else he pleased. Thus he lived for ten years longer, and ended in 1559 his long, changeful, and instructive life.

CHAPTER XL.

END OF THE BELL WAR.

It has before been related that Gustavus appeared to take no notice of the rebellion of the Dalmen, who on their side receiving no assistance from the other peasantry, and every day expecting to see the King arrive with an army against them, marched up and down their own frontier fully armed, resolved to meet violence by violence. But no King was to be seen ; not even a

single soldier, neither did they hear of any preparations against them; and the Dalmen knew not what they should think of all this or what step to pursue. They wearied by degrees of wandering about the forests on their boundaries, particularly as their fields were neglected in consequence. One after the other they returned home; and when their first zeal was somewhat cooled there were many who said "they might keep King Gustavus, if he would only agree to certain conditions." These they then decided on at a meeting: "First, that the King should never ride into Dalarna oftener, or with a greater company than the Dalmen permitted him. Second, that only native Dalmen should be appointed their commanders." So great however was their dread of the King that none dared to carry these proposals to him; but they were brought to his knowledge notwithstanding, though he still seemed to pay no heed to them.

The Dalmen having yet further time for reflection, next wrote to the Senate asking its intercession, promising to give up their bells if the Senate would engage that the King would not bring foreign troops to fall upon them by surprise and snatch out the one and other from amongst them. The Senate answered in serious and warning terms, convincing the peasants of their crime and folly, and the King's innocence in the whole proceedings. The repentant Dalmen finally wrote to the King himself, imploring him in all humility, "that for God's and their prayers' sake, he would overlook the riot of which certain amongst them through indiscretion had been guilty. They humbly besought him to accept the bells from all their districts, and offered him two thousand marks besides. Did he want more, they would give more as far as their means extended, and henceforward ever show themselves

faithful and obedient subjects." To such a degree had time and reflection lowered the presumption of the good Dalmen. Gustavus now occupied with the war against Christian, granted their request, gave them Ingel Hansson a countryman of their own for a steward, accepted their offer of two thousand marks, and informed them that he had restored them to his friendship and favour. Proud of this, and rejoiced at having escaped so easily, they prepared many a feast, at which they drank, and gloried in the old freedom of the Valleys, and on these occasions many unfit and unseasonable words were uttered. However they did remain faithful to the King, and constantly rejected all Gustaf Trolle's attempts.

But King Gustavus did not intend to let them off so easily ; he could not forget nor forgive their refractoriness and the insolent language they had used against him. He was determined on punishing them severely, spite of their submission, and although he would by this means break the appearance of pardon he had already given them.

None knew other than that the King yet dreaded Christian's party, when on the 13th of January, 1533, he appointed a general review at Westerås ; after it was over, the men were not dismissed. Some of the officers then asked the King, "What was their destination?" He answered, "Hurry you after where you see me lead," and he took his route northwards. After a day's march it was discovered that Dalarna was concerned, and messengers were despatched to the Dalmen to hold themselves ready to meet the King at Kopparberg. As soon as he crossed the Ferry of Brunbäck, bodies of soldiers were sent out to seize those who had been ring-leaders in the disturbances. Anders Persson of Rankhytta, Nils of Süderby, and the newly appointed

steward Ingel Hansson were taken immediately. Mäns Nilsson of Aspeboda fled to the forest, and concealing himself in a charcoal kiln, was long sought for in vain. At last the peasants who were on the search took his dog with them; the faithful animal snuffed along his master's traces, followed them eagerly, and by his love betrayed the unfortunate, who was also brought before the King.

When the peasants were assembled, they were encircled as at Tuna Heath by the military. Lars Sparre and several members of the Senate first addressed them, and afterwards the King himself. "Do you recollect," he said, "what you promised six years ago at Tuna-hed? Do you think it becomes you to appoint how far your King shall travel in his own kingdom, or do you pretend to hinder me from crossing Brunbäck's Ferry? Who ever heard that any one before dared to prescribe such a thing to the former rulers of Sweden, or the august Stures? You want to have me for your plaything; but I promise you this shall be your last trial; for either shall Dalarna become a quiet and dutiful province, or I shall hold such a muster with you that from this day forth neither dog nor cock shall be heard throughout the land."

As soon as the peasants heard Gustavus' hard and threatening words, they fell on their knees in their terror, and dared not arise till the whole matter was at an end. They cried, "yes!" to all that he said, and accused Mäns Nilsson and several others with him of having seduced the ignorant. The King bade them produce the culprits themselves; this was done, and they were set apart from the rest. After a serious exhortation, the King now let the people go home; but Nils of Söderby and four others of those who had proceeded with the most violence against the King's offi-

cers were judged and executed at Fahlun; a great bark crown was set on the head of Nils of Söderby. The real instigators were conveyed to Stockholm, when it was discovered on stricter inquiry, that Måns Nilsson and his friends had been engaged in secret negotiations with Christian, and Gustaf Trolle; they were consequently condemned to the loss of life and property. The assistance they had formerly lent Gustavus in the hour of his need; the allegiance they long after showed him, could not soften him to pardon; their confiscated property was however restored to their widows and children.

Gustavus' severity took effect: no disturbance, no discontent was from that day forward ever heard of in Dalarna, and the kingdom was restored to domestic peace for many years. A crime however can never be right, though it may appear needful; and when the Swedes with veneration and gratitude contemplate the otherwise pure and spotless fame of the great Gustavus, they must mourn the stain he this once brought on it, by his breach of promise and cruelty. Gustavus Wasa was hero enough to have quelled a sedition, without taking his subjects by surprise when they relied on his given promises. He was one who could indeed have held the rebellious in order, without needing to terrify them by shedding the blood of former friends and protectors.

CHAPTER XLI.

SWANTE STURE'S LOYALTY.

THROUGHOUT Europe, as well as in Sweden at this time, a fixed and regular method of Government was introduced, chiefly by the Kings with the assistance of the Commons and burghers, quelling, and keeping the

hitherto bold and arrogant nobles in order. Manners became less fierce; force less frequent; the country and high-roads safer; bonds of peace and mutual confidence united distant nations, and men began to feel the importance of free mutual trade, and the oppressive nature of the Hanseatic League. England and Holland had already freed themselves; their commerce extended even to the North, to the no small anger and jealousy of the Hanseats. These demanded that the Swedish and Danish Kings should forbid their subjects all other traffic but with Lübeck; but to this they were too wise to agree. Then Lübeck sought by force to expel the Dutch from the Baltic, and asked Gustavus' assistance to that effect, which he refused. The anger of these powerful merchants was then excited, and in a higher degree, as the old and experienced town Council of Lübeck had been expelled by some bold and artful men, who excited the people by their speeches to many reckless deeds. The chief of these insurgents was Mejer a blacksmith, and Wullenweber a weaver, both of them raw, ignorant, and cunning, but at the same time bold, crafty, and eloquent. These and their fellows had usurped the chief authority in Lübeck.

Swante Sture, son of Sten Sture the younger, and Christina Gyllenstjerna, was now a youth of sixteen, of a handsome and noble appearance, gentle and prepossessing manners. Gustavus had ever shown him much favour, and bestowed great care on his education. He was now travelling, and stopped for some time at Lauenburg where he was treated with the utmost distinction by the King's father and mother-in-law.

It was on this youth that Gustavus' enemies cast their eyes when they were seeking a leader. Lübeck and Lauenburg are not far distant; Lütke Möller, a burgher of the former town was despatched by Mejer

and Wullenweber, who on pretence of a message from his mother, and the present of some horses, got Swante Sture to accompany them to a small town named Möllen between the two States, where he waited two days without seeing anything either of the letter or the horses. On the second night Marcus Mejer arrived with a hundred horsemen secretly ; and on the following morning Swante Sture was invited to breakfast by Lütke Möller. Mejer sat at table ; Swante Sture then asked Lütke "who the new guest was ?" and was answered, "he is a knight, Sir Marcus Mejer, who has much to discuss with you in the name of Lübeck." Swante then perceiving himself deceived, exclaimed, "Lütke you have betrayed me like a desperate villain !" Lütke, smiled, and answered: "Be content, Sir Swante, it is for your own advantage, though you may not perhaps perceive it." Breakfast being done, Marcus Mejer got up, and bid the host and his company leave the room. Swante wanted to accompany them, but Mejer begged him to remain, and seat himself, for he had a very particular errand for him from the counsellors of Lübeck. After having spoken long and bitterly against Gustavus, he ended by saying: "We shall carry you to Lübeck, and you shall assist us in our revenge on this King. We Lübeckers will afterwards help you to become a powerful Prince in Sweden. The Duke of Lauenburg is the last person you must think of returning to, for he intended ere long to take your life." To this Sir Swante answered: "I am a young and inexperienced person, and will by no means take such a step against my King and my country. It would first be to the everlasting grief and sorrow of my mother, relations, and friends, and I myself would lose my property and inheritance in Sweden." Mejer here interrupted him, by saying: "We Lübeckers are

rich enough to pay it to you four-fold again; and if, which God forbid, Gustavus should get the upper hand, we will never conclude peace with him, till he has restored your estates." But Swante still refused, and could neither by threat nor bribe be persuaded to go on to Lübeck of his own accord. Then Marcus Mejer exclaimed: "If you will not do it in God's name, you must in the devil's!" Fifty horsemen were then called out, together with Swante Sture's horse, he was compelled to mount; Mejer took his bridle: and so without delay they made for Lübeck.

Herr Sture was stormed both by promises and threats; he was equipped in new and magnificent apparel; called the young Administrator of Sweden, and money was even struck in his name. Though but a youth, nay almost a boy, he possessed strength sufficient to resist all temptations; he preserved the honour of the old name of Sture unsullied; and after a time the Lübeckers were forced to let him return to Lauenburg.

Thus did Gustavus find fidelity and loyalty in that youth from whom he had most reason to expect envy and treachery; while he was on the other hand betrayed by his nearest relations. Count John of Hojar, a high-born noble, and experienced warrior of Germany, had gained through Gustavus great power in Sweden, and was married to his sister, the widow of Joachim Brahe. The brothers-in-law however did not long agree, for Hoja not getting all the promotion he desired, the German Count could not endure the authority of the crowned Swedish noble, and probably Gustavus often made him feel it. The Lübeckers hearing of this enmity, sent messengers to the Count instigating him to rebel; they were listened to, and at last with his wife and children he fled the country, and joined Gus-

tavus' enemies. Lady Margaret lived for some time in Revel; her brother offered her a free and safe return, but she dreaded he would be too severe towards her children, and remained. She died there in 1537, leaving two sons by the Count of Hoja who remained in Germany, and an elder son named Per, by Joachim Brahe, now the only living representative of that family. After his mother's death he returned to Sweden; and from him descends the present Brahe family.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE GREFVEFEJD.

AT this time, 3rd of April 1533, King Fredrick I. of Denmark died, leaving two sons; the eldest, Christian, was favoured by the nobility, but hated by the priests, as he was a devoted Lutheran. John, the younger brother, had been educated by two Jesuits, and therefore great hopes were entertained by some that he would protect the old religion. They were both, however, equally disliked by the peasants and burghers, who weary of the oppression of the nobles, wished the tyrant Christian back on the throne. The election was thus long delayed, while disunion and disorder ruled throughout the land.

Lübeck irritated at the efforts of the Danish Senate to introduce free commerce, determined to put these discontents to profit, and assist her former enemy, Christian the Tyrant, to the throne. A relation of his, Christopher, Count of Oldenburg, (from whom the whole war has got its name of Grefvefejd, or Count's Feud,) was placed at the head of a large army, which fell on Skåne and Zealand, and made the people take the oath of allegiance to their old King Christian. The burghers of every town were ready to do so; the

strongly fortified Malmö went over by treason, as did Copenhagen; and the peasants poured by thousands into Christopher's camp. The houses and farms of the nobles were plundered and burnt, and their wives and daughters obliged to hide themselves in disguise wherever they could. They fled themselves, some to Sweden, some to Prince Christian who was in Holstein, while some swore allegiance to Christian, the Tyrant, to save themselves from the fury of the enraged populace, but to no purpose. "We must kill the wolf, and there will be no young ones." Thus spoke the peasants, and they kept their word; treated formerly like brute beasts by their masters, they now took a brutal revenge, and this not on Skåne and Zealand alone, but in Fyen and Jutland the revolt spread with all its terrors; the same inhuman oppression called forth an equally inhuman vengeance.

The Danish Princes saw themselves incapable of resisting so many and such powerful enemies; John's partisans fell off entirely. Christian III received the homage of a portion of the nobility; but every town, and the whole angry body of the peasants was against him; more than which, the victorious fleet of Lübeck was cruising about the Danish islands. Against these troubles he had but a small though choice troop to oppose, and one single ally.

But that ally was Gustavus Wasa. United before to Christian III, by their having married two sisters, he was still more so now by the dread of their mutual enemies—Lübeck and Christian the Tyrant. The brothers-in-law entered into a treaty for reciprocal defence, and Gustavus was not slow to do his part. He equipped a considerable army, of which Johan Tureson Roos was the leader, and in which Gustavus' tried friends, Sparre, Stenbock, and others held the chief command.

The troops marched into Halland in October 1534. Halmsad gave in after two storms on one day; the Lübeck auxiliaries, headed by John of Hoja and Marcus Mejer, were driven down to Helsingborg. The Count of Hoja fled through Denmark; Marcus after a short but severe contest was taken prisoner with the greater part of his troops, after which Christian III received the homage of all Skåne. On the 30th of April, 1535, eleven large and well appointed battle ships sailed from Stockholm. The Great Carvel, the name of the Admiral's flag ship, was as remarkable for her size, strength and sailing, as for her captain, the brave Herr Erik Fleming, commander of the whole Swedish fleet. Eleven Danish, and ten Prussian vessels joined him at the Charles Islands off Gothland, where the three Admirals, Erik Fleming, Peter Skram, the Danish, and Henry Schonebeck, the Prussian, promised to live and die with each other, as well as to divide loyally what fortune might grant them. They thence sailed southward seeking the Lübeck fleet, which they encountered at Bornholm; the battle began vigorously, but a violent storm soon separated the ships, and the Lübeckers turned to seek shelter in Öresund. The others followed, headed by the Great Carvel, which intently pursued the enemy's flag-ship named Michael, which says the old chronicle, "wheeled before the Great Carvel like a fox before two dogs." The Swedish vessel eagerly sought to grapple the Michael; but as she had almost overtaken her, the ropes of her foresail were shot off, so that the other got a-head again. The damage being soon remedied, and the foresail renewed, the Carvel with all her canvas spread in the driving storm, soon made up to the Michael. This time they did not part before the latter lost her mainmast, and was so crippled

with balls, that she seemed ready to sink. The united fleet remained far behind, with the exception of one vessel, which was a Swede and called the Kamperman. These two now abandoned the Michael which they considered hopeless, and steered right into the midst of the flying fleet of the enemy. At last the Great Carvel engaged with a large hulk, as it was then called; but another shot again brought down her fore-sail; she however still pursued her prey with such sharp salutes, that the hulk was about to strike sail and surrender, when at the same moment two chained shot brought the main-mast of the Carvel over her side, so that she lay helpless and disabled on the waves, like a weary warrior. Evening was coming on, and the enemy fled. Had the other vessels been able to keep up with these, no doubt the whole of the Lübeck fleet would have been destroyed. Its destruction was however only delayed, for it took place afterwards in the Sound without much difficulty, after which the united fleets laid siege to Malmö and Copenhagen from the sea.

Gustavus, even in other respects, showed himself a good ally. He exhorted the rebels in Denmark with serious and powerful words to submit to their lawful master, and Gustavus' words where everywhere of weight with all. He lent his brother-in-law large sums of money on good security however. He fairly restored the provinces he had conquered, and rejected every offer the Lübeckers made him to agree to a separate and advantageous peace for himself; despising to benefit himself at the expense of his kinsman and ally, and his own honour.

Thus powerfully supported by his brother-in-law, himself a bold, wise, and prudent commander, Christian III overcame this wide-spreading insurrection. The

peasants proceeded after the old fashion ; their zeal soon wearied, many returned home ; those who remained possessed neither order nor discipline ; when Christian marched against them with his practised troops they were cut down miserably by hundreds. Finally, both armies met at Örneberg by Fyen ; Christian's people were led by the brave Johan Ranzow ; the Lübeckers by the Count of Hoja. The latter suffered a complete defeat ; six thousand men were left on the field, amongst whom were many officers ; the rest were made prisoners. Christian was now acknowledged throughout the country, and the fortified towns opened their gates to him. Lübeck was obliged to make peace, and the Grefvefejd came to a hasty conclusion. Not so the memory of its horrors. It became a proverb to say, "*He arrived in the Count's time,*" meaning, he arrived in an unlucky hour ; though Time, which changes all things, has now given precisely the contrary meaning to this old adage ; and the enduring slavery in which the Danish peasants long after continued, reminded them sufficiently of this their last attempt to regain their lost freedom.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE END OF GUSTAF TROLLE AND THE COUNT OF HOJA.

WHERE war and plots were carried on against Gustavus Wasa, there Gustaf Trolle was sure to be found. When Christian the Tyrant was taken prisoner in Norway, Trolle fled to Germany ; when the Grefvefejd broke out, he hastened to take part in it. The former primate of Sweden now fought as a voluntary amidst the hirelings of Lübeck, hated by his countrymen, despised by foreigners. The Battle of Örneberg brought his restless life to an end ; he was found amidst the

slain sorely wounded, and carried to Gottorp where he shortly after died.

The Count of Hoja was in the same battle taken prisoner by some nobles of Holstein, who had been his enemies of old. In the midst of the disorder attendant on the scarcely concluded fight, they conducted him aside; words passed between them, and without further ceremony they cut him down. Such was the result of John of Hoja's treason.

CHAPTER XLIV.

JAMES BAGGE'S FIRST EXPLOIT.

It was during this campaign that James Bagge was first noticed. He was the son of Tord Bagge of Wiborg, who in 1523 had gone over to King Gustavus. When Johan Turesson had taken Halmstad, James Bagge was appointed commandant. When the Swedish army was besieging Warberg, the Count of Hoja marched with all his forces against Halmstad. Twice he wrote exhorting James Bagge to give up the town; but was answered both times, that "such a traitor to King Gustaf as the Count of Hoja had no good to expect of Swedish men." The messenger was sent back a third time; but Bagge chased him away without reading his letter, and forbid him ever again to return on so disgraceful an errand. Count John, highly indignant at this, next made preparations to storm the town; Bagge, who watched them, caused some old dismantled guns to be crammed with powder, and when the Lübeckers advanced, caused these pieces to be discharged, which bursting, the enemy rejoiced at the accident, rushed without any precaution toward the walls, when James Bagge caused his real cannons to play upon them, and powder and shot spread death and destruc-

tion among their ranks. He mounted the walls himself, encouraging his men, and caring little for the danger to which he exposed himself. He was at last, however, struck by a ball which lodged in his hip, but he still kept his place and his people in good order till the attack had been repelled. He then caused the ball to be extracted, and immediately afterwards was carried on a litter round the fortifications, that he might order the means of further defence. The Swedish troops soon after arrived to his aid; the Lübeckers marched down to Skåne, and Halmstad was saved. This is the first exploit we have to relate of James Bagge. He became a man with whom both friends and enemies afterwards made nearer acquaintance.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE MEETING OF THE KINGS.

GUSTAVUS thought that King Christian had not, in every respect, behaved towards Sweden with the honesty and gratitude that his efficacious assistance deserved, neither did he conceal his displeasure; but let the Danes hear it in threatening and explicit terms. On this Christian, who was then in Skåne, took the resolution by visiting Stockholm himself to put an end to all misunderstanding, and executed it with such expedition that some Swedish officers who started at full speed to inform the King of this intention, scarcely arrived at Court before him. Christian took but a few of his Senators and six servants with him; no safe conduct was demanded, he trusted to his brother-in-law's honour, and set out, spite of the expostulations of the Danish Senate. Gustavus received his kinsman, ally, and brother King with every demonstration of honour; the cannons on the Three Crowns thundered

a salute as the two Sovereigns met, and several parheli-
ons visible that day in the sky were considered as
tokens favourable for the meeting. Christian thanked
Gustavus frankly for the good assistance he had en-
joyed during the war, and both monarchs renewed
their treaty of friendship and alliance. At his brother-
in-law's advice, Christian now took the resolution of
introducing Lutheran worship into his kingdom, a plan
which he afterwards carried promptly and zealously
into execution. In spite of these testimonials of friend-
ship, some relate that King Gustavus expressed himself
in so stern a manner regarding different things which
displeased him, that Christian did not find a longer stay
agreeable. After eight days he returned to Denmark,
and Queen Catherine, who had before heard the violent
explosions of Gustavus's anger, addressed her brother-
in-law as he was starting with these words: "Brother,
thou mayst thank God Almighty. Thou hast surely
had a fortunate star in the skies, for it is not long ago
since there were quite different intentions regarding
thee here."

CHAPTER XLVI.

QUEEN CATHERINE'S DEATH.

It was but eight days after Christian's departure
that the Queen fell suddenly and violently ill and died.
It was well known that the marriage of the royal
couple had been none of the happiest, and scandal and
calumny were now not silent regarding the King. The
Queen had often given him cause of displeasure; amongst
other things she had written to warn the Count of
Hoja of her husband, thus hastened his defection, and
the misfortunes consequent upon it. We have just re-
lated how she but shortly before had aspersed him to

the Danish Sovereign. It is very probable that Gustavus made her aware of his displeasure at such conduct, and that sometimes in his anger he may not have been guarded either in his words or opportunities. The feelings of this great man were in the eyes of his little enemies turned into heinous crimes. Former reports had been spread that he had maltreated Catherine by hard words and even sometimes by blows. It was on this occasion related that a page had listened at the door, and heard the words we have just quoted addressed by her to the Danish King; and repeating them to Gustavus, that he in the violence of his anger had struck her so hard with a hammer that she died in consequence. Such was the rumour that was spread, and finally reached Gustavus's ears; but it is nowhere related that he ever took the least pains to refute so base a calumny.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ATTEMPTS ON THE KING'S LIFE.

WAR abroad and disturbance at home; want of sense of the well-meaning, and plots by the mal-disposed; all was employed to precipitate Gustavus from the throne, or make him refrain from the judicious changes he was effecting. But in vain: Gustavus Wasa remained as firm on his throne as in his principles, to the despair of his enemies. This drove them to a desperate step. The King was most detested by the Lübeckers, whose commerce and domination he had so powerfully controlled. They had still a great party in the northern kingdoms, particularly in the commercial towns; and in Stockholm there was no inconsiderable number of Lübeck burghers who were the originators of the base project of getting rid of so detested but

powerful an enemy by assassination. The old and honourable Senate of Lübeck were in complete ignorance of this villany; but there is reason to suspect that Mejer and Wullenweber knew and supported the plot. It was to murder the King, surprise the town and Castle, cut down the Swedish citizens, and turn Stockholm into a Hanse town. The treason was already of two years' standing, during which Gustavus had daily unconsciously moved amidst hired murderers.

This year, however, it was to be put into execution. Some Germans were leaders, and they gained partisans daily even among the Swedes, who, bribed by the gold of Lübeck entered into the conspiracy. Among these were Anders Hansson, the Mint-master, and Martin Munk, Secretary of the Castle; the latter indeed was employed by Gustavus as a spy in the town; a traitor towards his fellow-citizens, he was the same towards the King. Old Gregorius Holst, whom Gustavus had spared, had also his hand in the game, but very cautiously.

There were three projects on foot. Anders Hansson, who was often alone with the King in the treasure-chamber, had taken on himself at a suitable convenience to stab him. The second was to poison his food; but neither of these was carried into execution; the third was therefore decided on. A barrel of gunpowder was laid under the King's chair in the High Church, from which a copper pipe was led containing a match calculated to burn precisely three hours. At seven o'clock it was to be lighted; at ten the King was in Church, of that they were certain; the explosion would take place and the massacre commence. Such was the plan which was to be put into execution on Palm Sunday. On the Saturday previous no soul, save the conspirators, knew a word of it.

There was at that time in Stockholm, a man of the name of Hans Windrank, master of a trading vessel, who by his evil life had fallen into great misery; the conspirators confided their project to him, and he driven by want and their promises, entered eagerly into it. The compact was confirmed with such a drinking bout, that Hans Windrank was carried home at night to his house. A neighbour of his, named Brita, curious to know the cause of his being thus brought back, hurried over to ascertain it; and he, made communicative by his drunkenness, did not conceal his undertaking, and the great fortune he hoped to acquire by it. Scarcely had Brita mastered as much of it as the intoxicated Hans could impart, than she hastened to relate everything to her husband, and he in his turn to the Castle. The conspirators were taken up the same night. Their trial was short: Gregorius Holst was shut up a prisoner for life. Anders Hansson threw himself in despair from the tower of the Three Crowns, preferring suicide to execution. The rest were executed and exposed on the wheel, and their property fell to the crown.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

QUEEN MARGARET.

KING GUSTAVUS did not remain a widower much more than a year; he had chosen his first wife according to political calculation, and he had been unfortunate; this time he determined to follow his own heart and his own taste; and he succeeded.

Erik Abrahamsson Lejonhufwud of Ekeberga in Nerke, the same who assisted Christian across the Tiweden, and received his reward from Christian's hands by falling a victim in the Blood-bath in Stockholm, had left several children. His widow, the Lady

Ebbå Wase, would never abandon the Roman Catholic persuasion, and therefore chose her residence near the Convent of Wreta, which was still suffered to remain. All her children came to great distinction; from her sons, Sten and Abraham, the Lewenhaupt and Lejonhufwud families descended. Her daughters were married to the chief nobles of the kingdom. Brita to Gustaf Stenbock; Martha to Swante Sture, and Anna to Axel Bjelke. They were observable both for beauty and talents, chief among them all, however, the Lady Margaret. Her face was remarkably beautiful, though in later years somewhat pale and thin; her hair long and fair; her eyes blue, mild, but serious; her nose high and well-formed; her mouth small and delicate; her chin dimpled. Goodness and understanding, mildness and majesty, looked from her eye, spoke in her language, and in her whole manners; and whoever beheld the lovely Fröken Margareta felt the warmest devotion for her. Chief amongst these was the young Swante Sture. Brought up together, almost of an age, equal in beauty, understanding, and nobility of character, they had conceived the warmest affection for each other. It was also said that they were secretly engaged though scarce more than, he seventeen, she fifteen, when Swante set out on his foreign travels, during which time his confinement at Lübeck, which we have before related, took place.

During his absence Queen Catherine died. Gustavus who felt but little regret, soon looked out for another partner, and chose the young Margaret Lejonhufwud. The prayers of her family, and Gustavus' own high qualities, moved her to consent, if indeed she ever hesitated to sacrifice love to a crown. The marriage was celebrated at Upsala on the 1st of October, 1536, and as Gustavus' first union was unhappy, this one made

up for it. Margaret became most dear to him ; he who had generally been willing and accustomed only to consult himself, asked counsel of her enlightened understanding ; her mildness and gentleness calmed his anger and kept it from many hurtful explosions ; her tenderness concealed from his knowledge all such news as would uselessly irritate him ; her prayers softened him to pardon his misled subjects ; and many an unhappy family venerated and loved her as their benefactress ; the whole land as a mother, Gustavus himself as his good angel. When he was wearied by the cares of Government, and often irritated by the ingratitude he met with, he found rest, comfort and happiness, at the side of his beloved Margaret.

Swante Sture soon returned home to Sweden. Not enough that Gustavus was in possession of his father's post, he had torn from him even the bride of his youth. Swante, young and violent, sought his former love, and threw himself on his knees before her. The King entered the room at the same moment. "What is the meaning of this ?" he asked. Margaret answered hastily : "He demands my sister Martha to wife." "It is granted," said the King ; and no one ventured a word more on the subject. They were soon after united without either of them ever having had the least idea of such an event. Though concluded in so extraordinary a manner, this marriage was nevertheless happy, they loved each other ever after tenderly and truly ; and became the parents of thirteen children, among whom were the Stures, afterwards so famous and unfortunate under Erik XIV.

CHAPTER XLIX.

KING GUSTAVUS AND OLAUS PETRI.

ALTHOUGH Gustavus, in the beginning of his reign, often deposed the Romish Bishops and clergy without much previous warning, it was easy for him to replace them by others, the rich sees and livings enticing many to enter into the King's views, even where they were not so clearly convinced of their justice ; but when such priests after a time perceived how their power and riches were diminished from that enjoyed by their predecessors, then they, by their discontent and murmurs, often caused Gustavus much trouble ; he however preserved ever strict authority over them.

Olaus Petri was the one, however, who angered him most, though from very different causes. Gustavus had the bad habit of mixing many oaths in his conversation, which Olaus could by no means leave unnoticed. He declaimed loudly against it in one of his sermons in the High Church, not refraining from openly naming the King, even occasionally publicly calling him a miser and a tyrant. Some parhelions were seen in the sky ; these Olaus caused to be painted, hung the picture up in his Church, and said they boded a great punishment on the land on account of the King's sinfulness.

Gustavus was highly indignant. "We had imagined," he wrote to Olaus's brother, the Archbishop, "that the people ought to be instructed, not held in blindness and incited to mischief. Sermons ought to consist not in railings and invectives against ceremonies, but in the faith of Christianity, in the doctrines of brotherly love, godly living, patience in suffering, and so on. Christ and Paul enjoined obedience to rulers ; Swedish priests on the contrary preach contumacy, giving the King the blame of all the swearing in use that the people may be

offended. God's word, however, teaches first to warn privately and exhort to improvement; but here you commence with open maledictions both from the pulpit and in print. As you therefore," added Gustavus, "treat the matter so unwisely, we order, that from this day, no step is to be taken in the Reformation, nothing printed unknown to us; and you, Archbishop, take you especial heed to yourself if you wish to avoid disagreeables." After this the King appointed George Norrman to be Superintendent of the clergy of the kingdom, and gave him a religious council to assist him. By this means the power of the Bishops was further reduced, and clerks made still more dependent on the King. The dispute with Olaus stopped here.

A year after, however, it was discovered that Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreæ had known, but concealed Anders Hansson's intention of murdering the King. They were immediately called to trial. Having come to the knowledge of the conspiracy by confession, they made this their excuse; for then, as since, priests, both according to law and general opinion, were bound to secrecy on all such subjects. But this was an excuse Gustavus would not admit; they were both condemned to death. The Archbishop himself had to pronounce and sign his brother's doom; Laurentius Andreæ redeemed his life by the sacrifice of his property, and lived afterwards in retirement. It was however more difficult for Olaus, against whom the King was highly excited. At last when the burglars of Stockholm united in imploring the pardon of their minister and presented five hundred Hungarian guldens as a ransom for him, Gustavus permitted himself to be moved. Olaus received mercy, and after the lapse of three years was even restored to his office. He died in 1552; but even in his grave he was destined to provoke Gustavus to

anger. He had composed a chronicle of Swedish history down to A.D. 1521, which first came before the King's eyes after the death of the author, and pleased him little. Olaus had too plainly represented the devotion of the former Lords of Wasa to Denmark, neither had been sufficiently severe against the Catholic clergy, &c. The King therefore ordered every copy of this book to be collected and burnt. Some however were saved fortunately for both the Swedish history and the Swedish language; for the brothers Olaus and Laurentius improved their mother tongue in a remarkable degree, and a long time elapsed before any Swede attained to their perfection in this respect.

CHAPTER L.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE DACKE-FEUD.

FROM 1536 when the Grefvefejd was brought to a termination, the country had enjoyed peace abroad, and at least the appearance of peace at home. Gustavus employed this time in divers useful enterprises; the peace with Russia was confirmed; a treaty entered into with France. Disputes with Denmark were adjusted by the two Kings at a personal interview at Brömsebro; the fleet was augmented; artists and artisans called in from abroad, as well as men of learning to re-open the almost ruined academy of Upsala. The whole Bible appeared in 1541, printed for the first time in Swedish. The finances and accounts were set in order; good regulations of political economy were published, and the well being of the kingdom seemed increasing in every respect.

Discontent was however still prevalent, though less now in matters of religion than against the nobles and

the King's stewards. Gustavus to put down the clergy had sought by all means to raise the nobility both to power and riches; and his sons, not so strong as himself, afterwards felt this to their cost. After the termination of the insurrection in West Gothland, the nobles ventured no further attempts against himself, but commenced treating the peasants and the other orders with an intolerable pride, and using often the most unjust extortions, which awoke the natural envy of privileges acquired by birth without merit, while the King's stewards and other officers resumed their old custom of plundering the people in the most cruel manner. News of this occasionally reached the King's ears, the nobles had then to bear severe reproaches, and the stewards their well-merited punishment. However, the abuses continued and the discontents increased. At a meeting of the nobles in Örebro in 1540, Sweden was declared an hereditary kingdom; and it excited the rage of the burghers and peasants still more that the Lords had thought proper to settle so important a matter unknown to them. Finally a number of regulations in the political economy of the kingdom, published by the King's orders, which though useful in themselves restricted the freedom of the peasants in buying and selling, excited their displeasure; as they, in a half savage state before, had at least in such matters been accustomed to proceed as they pleased. These were the causes of the fermentation of the Commons throughout the kingdom at this period.

In Småland however these feelings were strongest. Here as in Dalarna, separated from others and each other by lakes, rocks, and forests, the inhabitants had preserved their former independence, which often degenerated to license. The peasant on his segregated land scarcely knew of a superior. His sons wandered

with their arms the whole day in the forests ; frays and the chase were their chief employment and amusement. It appertained to their sports that two fastened a leathern girdle round both their bodies, then each taking his knife, in his hand asked the other, " How far can you bear cold steel ? " Each then marked on the blade how deep they might cut, after which agreement their combat began ; the girdle prevented them from parting, the game did not end till one of them confessed himself vanquished or fell dead. When the women set out for a feast they used to carry a winding sheet with them, uncertain if their husbands would leave the place with life. Such were the Smålanders before the Dacke-Feud.

When, during the Grefvefejd, the Skåne peasantry had arisen so generally against the nobles, they had had a great desire to take part in the war ; they were indignant at seeing the Swedish armies march to assist the nobility and the young King Christian, for which reason the Swedes found little assistance in Småland, and on the contrary the rebellious peasantry of Skåne were considerably abetted by them. In this manner, and by their having gone so far as to attack and murder many of the King's stewards and officers, this stiff necked people had brought on themselves Gustavus' most serious displeasure. In the beginning of 1537, he sent down a strong force under Lars Siggeson Sparre, Johan Turesson Roos and Holger Gere. The Smålanders then submitted, and were obliged to pay heavy fines.

These were large and strictly exacted, so that many were thus brought to poverty and despair, and the forest dwelling places were filled with houseless peasants and expelled miscreants whose similar wants soon incited them to a similar manner of life. In large troops

they now as thieves and robbers infested the wide forests between Småland and Bleking; pursued in the one kingdom they fled into the other, and found on both sides the protection and assistance of their relations and like-minded brethren. One of their number, Jon Anderson, placed himself at the head of these adventurers in 1538, travelled to Germany, and entered into a confederacy with Berendt von Melen and the rest of Gustavus' enemies; but he never succeeded in attaining to any great consideration. Another peasant called Lasse Jönsson collected another body in 1540, vowing "to extirpate knights, nobles, and Lutherans," but he and his principal adherents were soon taken and executed. Thus these outbreaks were quelled; but only quelled. The discontent continued and increased, and a suitable leader was all that was wanting.

Nils Dacke, born in Bleking, of a rich and esteemed peasant family in that province, had removed into Sweden and resided at Dackermåla in the parish of Sandsjö. He had a law-suit with another peasant in Bleking about an inheritance, and when the Steward adjudged him to have lost it, his anger was so great that he killed him. For this, and many other crimes—for he was a confirmed villain—Dacke was laid in prison in Calmar Castle, and condemned to pay heavy penalties, costing him the whole of his considerable property which was even insufficient for the purpose. But a small portion of his fine remained unpaid; however, he still was kept a prisoner, till one day in despair he contrived to make his escape to the forest, where he soon joined the malcontents, and after two years was chosen their leader.

In the spring of 1542 the real insurrection broke out. Dacke summoned the peasants to meet him, and at their head commenced their march. The stewards

and nobles had now to pay for it; they were attacked and murdered, the innocent with the guilty, in a cruel and often treacherous manner. The bold hero, Arwid Westgöthe, was surprised and taken prisoner at Woxtorp; they carried him into the wood, stripped him, bound him to a tree, and shot him to death with balls and arrows. Thus the mad and ferocious peasants rewarded the brave Arwid, who had so often, at the expense of his own blood, defended them against foreign enemies. After this mean exploit they hastened to Gräskäl, but a mile and a half from Woxtorp, where Sir Gudmund Slatte lived. He had been ill for two years, and lay now so weak and near death, that the same day the peasants arrived, a lighted taper had been held four times in his hand.* The peasants despatched the dying man by three balls through the body. Thus they ravaged all Småland: blood, fire, and pillage marked their course, like that of the tyrant Christian. Unhappy the country which falls into impious hands, be they those of Kings or soldiers, Lords or peasants!

Dacke found his chief support in the bitter feeling of the peasants towards the nobles, and their desire for plunder; but still he sought for other assistance. He wrote to Swante Sture, and promised that the Smålanders would restore him his father's kingdom if he would become their leader. The generous young man this time likewise resisted the temptations of ambition, and despatched both Dacke's messenger and letter to the King. Dacke next turned to Christian of Denmark, offering him the crown of Sweden. Christian rejected the offer but informed Gustavus of it; the Burgomaster of Rönneby, however, gave Dacke good aid and assist-

* A custom retained from the Roman Catholic times, that the dying should hold a lighted candle in his hand at the very moment of death.

ance without being punished for it by the King. Dacke succeeded yet better in Germany, where he treated with Albrecht of Mecklenburg who strove earnestly for the crown, but without gaining any great party, for his very name was hated in the North. At last he got letters and promises of support from Charles V, who thought he might put these uproars to profit for the deliverance of his brother-in-law. His assistance however never extended beyond letters and promises, but even these contributed not a little to keep up Dacke's consideration with the peasants.

In the commencement, Gustavus sought by expostulations and moderation to bring these misguided men to reason; but these proving vain he determined to quell them by force, and to this end made preparations both at home and abroad. These were requisite. Gustaf Stenbock who had entered the province with an insufficient force was shut in at Bergqvara Castle, and obliged to agree to a truce. Måns Johansson, who with a large body entered East Gothland, was shut up in the parish of Kisa between barricades, and only succeeded by the treachery of a peasant, and even then with great difficulty, to force his way through and lead his dispersed and ruined troop back to Linköping. The main body commanded by Sparre and Johan Turesson forced their way into Småland, but could not accomplish much there; on the contrary, they were almost surrounded, were in want of all things, and could find no secure means of communication either to or from the King. Gustaf Stenbock, who had made a second attack from West Gothland, was the second time repulsed. The King, who had himself come down to East Gothland, found the peasantry everywhere excited and ready to rebel; the very towns took part in this general detestation of the nobles. The Skares of Småland swarmed

with the boats of the rebels which attacked and plundered every vessel that attempted to traffic in those seas. In Dalsland and in the districts by Tiweden, the forests were infested by robbers ready to join the insurgents. Great discontent reigned in Rekarna, and an extraordinary movement was perceived amidst the people of Dalarna. They took down and burnished their arms, held secret consultations together, and none could discover the cause. Gustavus believed a general insurrection ready to break out; his trouble was increased by his grief for the faithlessness and ingratitude he everywhere experienced. Many of the foreigners he had taken into his service deserted, and caused him both distress and damage. Such was the state of affairs at home.

Abroad it was scarcely better. Charles V urged that the northern crowns should descend to Christian's children, one of whose daughters was married to Francis, Duke of Lothringen, and this seemed to promise an inevitable war. The peace with Lübeck was just expired, and none knew what course the old Hanse city intended to pursue. Gustavus had still unsettled disputes hanging over with Dantzic and Prussia. Albrecht of Mecklenburg was an open enemy who sought to join himself to the insurgents; and above all the Russians began to move and make plundering invasions of Finland.

At the prospect of so many and such great perils hastening on together, Gustavus doubted of the possibility of saving his kingdom, and weary of the labour of governing an unruly people, he began to long for rest. Wife and children made this prospect still dearer to him; he therefore determined to abandon Sweden, and established himself in Germany, for which purpose he ordered his stewards in the Castles on Lake Mälär to

carry his valuables, and supplies of provisions to Stockholm, and exhorted the nobles to save their property in the Castles from "the mad peasantry." This was done with the greatest secrecy; and finally himself gave the order to the troops to break up from Småland and march to Stockholm to cover his retreat, saying: "After he was gone, the Swedes might govern and manage their kingdom as they best pleased."

The very mention of such an event struck the nobles with terror. It was themselves, their riches and their power, which the insurgents more particularly aimed against; and they clearly saw that if ever they were to be righted again, it must be by the power, ability, and resolution of the King. They therefore stormed him with petitions to remain, promising him the best and most faithful assistance. Just at this juncture two thousand Dalmen, completely armed, were seen marching across Långhed. All began to fear and tremble; but this time the Dalmen had come with an upright intention. They had heard of the disorders in the kingdom, and now sent this message to the King, that they had marched out of their own accord to offer him their assistance. This proof of fidelity and devotion was soothing to Gustavus: touched by it and the entreaties of his friends, he determined to venture to the uttermost, and at least to delay his departure, on which fresh preparations were commenced.

CHAPTER LI.

END OF THE DÄCKE FEUD.

MATTERS were now carried on with zeal. Gustavus strengthened his forces, and made peace with the Russians. Queen Margaret, known and beloved in Rekarna, travelled there, and succeeded in satisfying

the malcontents. Sparre and Johan Turesson made such execution among the peasants in Småland that more than a thousand of them were cut down, including Dacke's chief commanders, one of whom was the redoubtable Lille Jösse, a man remarkable as well for his bravery and fidelity to his word, as for his person, having twelve fingers and twelve toes. On the approach of autumn, Gustavus thought it more advisable that his army should retreat to East Gothland, where, instead of dismissing them, he quartered them for the winter, that the land might not remain unprotected against the Smålanders.

Dacke himself was meanwhile in a singular position. He appointed a considerable troop to annoy the forces in East Gothland ; but being everywhere defeated, and himself but a coward in open warfare, he did not venture to renew the attempt, but marched with a powerful body towards Calmar, where he was likewise bravely received, and repulsed with loss. He tried next to introduce strict order and discipline among his troops, and forbade all plunder ; this he did to imitate Engelbrecht, and as some say to ingratiate himself with the nobles ; for it is surmised that at that period Nils Dacke thought of going over to the King. But as he went to put these regulations into execution, and caused some rich peasants who had infringed them to be taken up and put to death, he excited the greatest indignation among his greedy and disorderly rabble. Many forsook him, and three districts refused to keep with him longer. Then Dacke sought to enter into terms with Gustavus, on condition that he might get a fief in Småland. Though the leader of the peasants against the nobility, he was himself ready to go over to the King, could he only become as powerful as the Lords he envied.

The spring of 1543 came on, and both parties had

spent the winter in arming. As soon as the roads were dry, the King's troops marched into the country; Gustaf Olsson from West Gothland, Swante Sture from Söderköping, Lars Sparre and Johan Turesson, with the two principal bodies from Wadstena. Gustavus had previously always enjoined mercy to the peasants, and the strictest discipline among his soldiers, thinking to gain the former by gentle means; but when this goodness only enticed them to arrogance, when they by treachery and falsehood had so often during this war deceived and injured him, and they themselves proceeded with inhuman cruelty, he commanded his officers, when they reached the rebellious districts, to burn the houses, carry off the corn and cattle, and proceed with the utmost severity. He even forbade the people in the neighbourhood to sell any provisions to the insurgents. "For once let them learn," he said, "what sedition and warfare bring along with them."

Gustaf Olsson and Swante Sture met with but slight resistance; the peasants yielded everywhere, especially to the latter for the sake of his name; but it was not so easy for the chief divisions. When they entered Småland there were but three parishes which submitted; the inhabitants of the rest had fled into the woods, torn down their bridges, and showed themselves as complete enemies. Wherever the army advanced, it plundered and burnt the farms; but its traces were followed by a body of peasants seeking to cause the soldiery some annoyance. The Swedish commanders had however grown prudent by experience; no small parties were permitted to quit the main body, and the baggage was always covered by a strong guard. As soon as the advance guard met with a barricade, they turned off by another route, so that the peasants were obliged to

abandon the barricades which cost them so much trouble. Both armies met at last. Dacke was encamped in a thick wood by Lake Åsunden; the royal troops advanced against him, and a severe conflict ensued. The arrows of the Dalmen, and the shot of the arquebusiers told upon the Smälanders. After an hour's fighting, Dacke was shot through both thighs, and his men were obliged to carry him out of the battle. Five hundred of them lay on the field, the rest fled pursued in every direction by the royalists. No hope of rescue remained. The King's troops had entered into the heart of the land, and on every side the black smoke of burning villages was seen rising against the sky. Hunger and want awaited them in the forests if they remained among their brethren, strife and death if they ventured out on the plains against the King's troops. Dacke had disappeared, and was not to be found by friend or foe, though eagerly sought for by both. The Smälanders then cursed the hour in which they had first lent an ear to his lies, and despised the admonitions of their King: one parish after the other demanded pardon, and laid down their arms. The King granted their request, on condition that they would lend their aid in discovering Dacke and the principal ring-leaders, and took twelve of the chief peasants of each district as hostages for the conduct of the rest. On this his army was recalled, and some bodies of troops only left to outroot the highway and forest bandits, who still infested the country in parts.

But scarcely was the field free from soldiers, when Dacke made his appearance again sound and well; and no sooner was this known than many of his former troop, who had been lying hid in small parties in the forests, joined him; and several parishes, which had so lately submitted, showed an inclination to rise. The King's

troops were therefore again called into action; but this time the struggle was not hard; many of the Smålanders themselves, weary of this long feud, lent their active assistance. Some of Dacke's chief partizans were taken and executed, and he and his people were almost everywhere defeated, especially by the valiant James Bagge, who once came upon the traces of Dacke, and hunted him before him from one parish to another: forty-two miles in one day. Dacke at last abandoned by all, wandered solitary and forsaken through the woods, advancing towards Bleking. He had thrown away his weapons in his flight: a cudgel of mountain-ash* was the only thing he had in his hand; but a valiant warrior hurried on his traces, Ragwald Persson, accompanied by a number of soldiers, some of whom had formerly been in his service. They came up with him in Rödeby forest, where he lay concealed amongst some stones and brushwood; but seeing himself discovered, he leapt from his hiding-place, and attempted to escape amidst the trees. They hurried after, that they might get him alive; but as he was about to escape from them they shot at him, and he fell dead to the ground. His body was carried to Calmar and put on the wheel, with a lofty copper crown on its head.*

Such was the end of Nils Dacke, and the bloody feud which bears his name. This was the last, as it had also been the most difficult insurrection which Gustavus had to contend with during his reign; the people now began to think him invincible, and fear gained for him that obedience which love and gratitude had failed to do.

* There is another history of Dacke's end, which says that he was taken prisoner, confined in the Hospital of Stockholm, and died there of the plague in 1580.

This rebellion was likewise the last attempt of the Commons of Sweden to annihilate, by force, the oppressive rights and privileges which the nobles had usurped, and which afterwards in a quiet and peaceable manner have for the most part been gradually done away with.

CHAPTER LII.

OF KING GUSTAVUS.

KING GUSTAVUS I. was a tall and well-made man, somewhat above six feet high. He had a firm and full body without spot or blemish, strong arms, delicate legs, small and beautiful hands and feet. His hair of a light yellow, combed down and cut straight across his eye-brows; forehead of a middle height, with two perpendicular lines between the eyes, which were blue and piercing; his nose straight, and not long; red lips, and roses on his cheeks, even in his old age. His beard in younger years was brown and parted, a hand-breadth long, and cut straight across; in later years growing at will, till it at last reached his waist, and became hoary like his hair. As his body was faultless in every respect, any dress that he wore became him. Fortune favoured him in all that he undertook: fishing, hunting, agriculture, cattle-breeding, mining, even to casting the dice, when he could be induced to take part in it, which, however, was very seldom.

As in his body, so in his soul, was King Gustavus endowed with the most noble qualities. His memory was so strong, that having seen a person once, after the lapse of ten or twelve years, he recognised him again at first sight. The road he had once travelled he could never mistake again; he knew the names of

the villages ; nay, even those of the peasants who lived there during his youthful excursions. As was his memory, such was his understanding. When he saw a painting, sculpture, or architecture, he could immediately and acutely judge its merits and defects, though he had himself never received any instruction in these arts.

When there was a crowd of people at the Castle,* he spoke with each, and on the subjects which those he addressed best understood ; all were familiar to him. No man in the kingdom was so well acquainted with it as himself ; none knew as well as he did in what its deficiencies lay. For this reason, and because in the beginning he was entirely without well-informed and capable officers, he was obliged himself to compose every ordinance and decree which he enacted, and the kingdom was not a loser by it.

He was prudent in the highest degree. But once, as we have already said, when Gustaf Trolle was about to take him prisoner at Upsala, did he show himself careless or credulous. Otherwise he was so provident, that he might rather be called suspicious. "Look well before you. Think well of all men ; but most of yourself." Thus he exhorted the people ; and it was thus true, as an old author says of him, "he calculated every step, and could stand firm as a mountain at each."

Firmness and perseverance in what he undertook were striking features in his character. Example sufficient of this, we find in his long, vehement, but honestly conducted struggle with the power of Popery. Most others would have wearied, or desired by a blow to decide the matter with violence. Gustavus let time and reflection work for him ; though slowly, he went ever

* Or palace. The Palace at Stockholm is still called the Castle.

forwards. Seldom or never did he change his resolution; it was an adage of his which he often repeated: "Better say once and remain by it, than speak a hundred times."

He was a stern and serious gentleman, and well knew how to preserve his dignity. It was not advisable for any, whether high or low, to attempt to encroach upon it; in such circumstances he rebuffed peasants, bishops, or Kings, with equal severity. He was just, but severe, with the men he had placed in civil charges; on which account many abandoned him. When any one laboured to show off his talents and capabilities in the hopes of ingratiating himself, or others, commenced extolling such an one, the sharp-sighted King would answer: "He is but a dabbler with all his pound from our Lord."

Gustavus was careful of money; for said he, "it costs the sweat and labour of the subjects." His Court was very frugal. He generally lived at one or other of the royal estates, and consumed their produce. His children were kept strictly. Hams and butter were sent from the country for the supper of the Princes at Upsala; the Queen herself sewed their shirts, and it was considered a great present if ever one of the Princesses got a blank riksthaler. Gustavus' love of money seduced him to several injustices, which, however, in those days were not so striking as now. He sometimes permitted parishes to remain without rectors, having them administered by vicars, and appropriated their returns to himself. He forbade the export of cattle to his subjects in general, buying them himself at a low price from the peasants, and selling them abroad with great profit. This last circumstance was one of the chief causes of the Dacke Feud. Several things of this kind which are less creditable to him

are related; but the people overlooked them for the sake of his many virtues. They also knew that this money was not uselessly squandered. Herr Eskil's Hall, and the other vaulted chambers of the Treasury, were full of good silver bullion at the King's death. When, however, pomp was required, he did not spare; but showed himself the equal of other Kings. "The Lord's anointed," he said, "should be girded with splendour, that the commonalty may view him with reverence, and not imagine themselves to be the equals of Majesty to the small profit of the land."

A pure and unaffected piety dwelt in his heart, and shewed itself in his actions. Prayers were read morning and evening in his apartments; divine service he never neglected. He was better informed of the contents of the bible and catechism than most of the priests in his kingdom. Therefore Le Palm, his chief physician, wrote of him to Paris: "My King is a God's Prince, who has scarcely his equal in spiritual and temporal measure. He is so experienced in the Scriptures, that he can rectify his priests; and none understands the Government of the kingdom like himself." During the Dacke Feud, Gustavus wrote to the rebels as follows: "Ye can threaten us as much as ye will; ye can drive us from our royal throne; rob us of estate, wife, and children:—ay, of life itself; but from that knowledge which we have attained of God's word, ye shall never part us, as long as our heart is whole, and our blood is warm."

He was equally venerable in his domestic life. No vice stains his memory. He liked the society of handsome and agreeable women; but no mistress, no illegitimate child, not the slightest foible can be laid to his charge, though he was forty-one before he married for the first time. His marriage vows he kept inviolate.

Gluttony, drunkenness, gambling, and idleness, were what he could never endure in others, much less in himself.

As he in his younger years was of a cheerful temper, when business was done, he kept a gay and lively Court, though in all sobriety. Every afternoon at a certain hour, the Lords and Ladies assembled in the great Hall where the King's musicians made music for them while they danced. "For," said he, "youth shall not be clownish, but gallant to the ladies, and to all." They were often out together, to walk or to hunt. Once a week a school for fencing was open for the young nobles; tournaments were afterwards introduced, at which the victors received their rewards from the hands of the fairest ladies at Court. They often entertained themselves with music, song as well as playing on stringed instruments, the latter especially, in which the King delighted. He made, and himself played several instruments, of which the lute was his favourite. There was never an evening when he was alone, that he did not occupy some hours with it.

He often travelled through the country, chiefly to great markets and other meetings, where he addressed the people; sometimes instructing them in matters of faith; sometimes regarding their house-keeping, agriculture, cattle-breeding and so on. The peasants soon learned that the King's advice was good, and listened to him willingly; also on account of his extraordinary eloquence. His voice was strong, clear, expressive, and pleasant in sound. No King of Sweden has ever been, or deserved to be, more beloved by the common people, than he was. Every peasant who possessed any fortune used to leave, by will, some silver to the King, so that at his death no inconsiderable store of bequeathed silver was found in the Treasury ;

and in the unquiet years which followed, the people used ever to speak with regret of "old King Gustaf," and his happy days.

Gustavus loved and protected learning. He was, however, supremely desirous of the instruction of the people, and sought by every means to get a sensible and well-informed peasantry. His own children received a careful education; so that they were amongst the most learned of their day. Like his children were their descendants, the whole Wasa dynasty as far as Christina; so that the royal house was the first, not only in pomp and bravery, but likewise in science and knowledge; and in this last respect, not in Sweden alone, but in all Europe.

When the King grew older and his children were growing up, he used often after meals to sit before the fire, and conversing with them, give them useful exhortations on many points. It was a royal school in its teacher, disciples, and doctrines. "Be steady in your faith; united amongst yourselves," said he. "If you fail in the first, you anger your Maker; if you neglect the second, you will fall a prey to man. Make war by compulsion—peace without compulsion; but should your neighbour threaten—strike. From my very childhood, and ever since, I have been at war; oftenest with my countrymen, sad to say! and I have grown grey in armour. Believe me, seek peace with all!"

When he saw them proud and vain-glorious of their royal birth, and descent from Odin, he said: "One like another; when the play is out we are all equal." Another time: "Ye shall reflect on all things well, execute with speed, and remain by it, deferring nothing to the morrow. The resolves which are not carried at the right time into execution, resemble clouds

without rain in long drought. Let every thing be done in its right time; time will then be sufficient for all—for the man in office, as for all others downwards, otherwise there will be provocation, hurry, and postponement in every part.” Again he would say: “It is the fault of the rulers if the governed do not obey, for the law must be followed without partiality, and always. Let no one do what he pleases: but what he ought. No one in office is to be endured who is not frugal, useful, and industrious. The morning hour has gold in its mouth. Away with the idler; but honour and reward to the faithful labourer in the vineyard. Your men must live in discipline and the fear of the Lord, paying reverence to old age. He who does not, may be expelled like the slanderers. Surround yourselves by answerable men of a pure life, for it will be believed of you as it is known of these.” Of the nobility he said: “Virtue, sense, and manliness make the noble. The Swede,” he would say again, “is often proud in the wrong season, and greedy to govern. They require a bold King with a manly mind; they cannot abide injustice, slavery, or a coward easily. They require a merry King, but a stern one; not one who looks through his fingers. In war they must fight—no parleying; they shame where little is done. Love therefore and honour this old kingdom whose inhabitants have been far and wide, and rebuked both east, south and west. Encourage and found hospitals and schools, and your forces both on sea and land. Love and honour agriculture, mining, commerce, even books and the arts, and your subjects will willingly do so likewise: they will follow you. Therefore love yourselves, and keep your subjects to the pure word of God, prayers, and church going; much depends upon these for the peace both of the soul and the country. Love


your subjects ; the right-minded among them will love you, and with them you will govern the rest. Thus have I done, dear children ! I have, with God's grace, laboured on your fitting education. Remain such for the well-being of yourselves and others ; and remember that the memory of a King ought not to die away with the sound of his funeral bells, but remain in the hearts of his people."

CHAPTER LIII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE TIME IN SWEDEN.

FRUGALITY and simplicity in every-day life, extravagant pomp, often both tasteless and ridiculous on solemn occasions, such were the marks of the times. Many of our conveniencies were wanting ; glass was very rare, and instead of the wooden shutters once in use, fine net-work, linen or parchment was now taken to supply their place. Hearths, instead of stoves were used for a couple of hundred years longer. Carpets, very coarse with the poor, embroidered with gold and silk with the rich, covered the coarsely-timbered walls. Thick benches were attached to them round the room, oaken in the houses of the rich. Before them stood long heavy tables equally thick ; no chairs, but loose benches, and small stools were moved about the room. Plates were scarce, and were never changed if the dishes were ever so many and so various ; every guest had to bring his knife, fork and spoon along with him. Clocks were so rare, that when the Grand Duke of Muscovy at this time received one as a present from the King of Denmark, he thought it must be an enchanted animal sent for the ruin of himself and his kingdom, wherefore he returned it with the utmost despatch to Copenhagen. Dinner was eaten at ten ; supper at five ; between nine

and ten they went to bed, to rise the earlier in the morning. Wearing apparel was mostly woollen; linen was barely used next the skin. Holiday dresses were costly, but substantial; the same petticoat often served mother, daughter and grand-daughter for festal occasions. The women had their hair combed back, and long tight-fitting gowns with stiff high ruffles; the men wore the Spanish dress. Their hair was in the beginning long, and the beard shaved; but this was soon changed, so that the clergy alone retained the long hair and smooth skin; the others adopted short hair and long beard. Wax-lights were only used in churches, tallow-candles by the richest and greatest, torches of dry wood by the people. The beds were broad, fastened to the wall, and few in number; the guests were laid several together, often with the host himself. This was the case even in the houses of Princes. The roads were so bad that carriages could seldom be used; besides the first coach was not introduced till the reign of John III. Most journeys took place on horseback, and when it rained, the Princesses were wrapped in wax-cloth cloaks. High titles were not in use. The King was called His Grace; the Princes *Junker* (young lord) the Princesses *Fröken* (young lady). The nobles did not use their family but their fathers' name; for instance instead of Ture Roos, or Lars Sparre, one wrote and said Ture Jönsson, Lars Siggesson, &c. or still shorter, Herr Ture, Herr Lars. There was much of savage wildness and disorder yet amongst the people, partly a consequence of the times, and of the long domestic broils. Club-law was more resorted to than the law of the land. Arms were in continual wear and exercise. According to an old custom the knights entered the bridal bed in full armour; but like the knights of old they were generally ignorant in the



highest degree, especially the elder amongst them. Many of King Gustavus' officers and Governors were unable to peruse, still less to write; they were obliged to keep a clerk on purpose to read and answer the King's letters. The Romish faith was done away with, but many of its superstitions remained, and that not alone among the people, but even the great ones of the land believed in witchcraft, fairies, elves, brownies, necks, &c. The art of medicine consisted chiefly in prayers and exorcism.

CHAPTER LIV.

QUEEN MARGARET'S DEATH.

WE have already said that the Dacke Feud was the last rebellion Gustavus Wasa had during the course of his reign to contend with. When it was crushed, he was permitted to sit in peace and quiet for seven years, during which time there are no feats of arms, nor extraordinary events to relate; but much which conduced to the happiness of the country, and which in proportion as it was important for those who enjoyed its benefits, offers no striking features to present to posterity. Gustavus continued with a firm hand to rule his kingdom, and advanced all that conduced to its weal, which daily increased. The peasant in tranquillity and security husbanded his ground, certain under his protection of enjoying its rich return. The merchants of Sweden confined before to the Baltic and dependant on the Lübeckers, now exported their goods to the West and imported others from thence, for Gustavus had succeeded in making peace with the Emperor, and all foreign countries, and understood everywhere how to make the Swedish name respected. A purer faith gradually spread under the new clergy, and the nobles

daily increased their riches. If one or other partisan of the old times complained, he was scarcely heard ; general well-being soon silences the discontent of individuals.

Gustavus himself was at rest with his beloved country ; his home was happy ; Margaret continued to form the joy of his life ; she gave him ten children, of whom eight grew up and formed the hope and happiness of their parents. These were the only calm and happy years which Gustavus enjoyed during the whole course of his reign—his only respite, his only reward for his long toils and cares.

But this calm was not of long continuation ; sorrows returned, more bitter and harder than before. In 1551 Queen Margaret fell sick at Tynnelsö ; the doctors in vain sought to restore her ; in vain were the prayers of husband, children, subjects. She was but thirty-three, but the strength of youth was also vain ; all soon perceived, and she herself, that death approached. She then, clasping Gustavus' hand, took leave of him : " For the great honour and love which you, my Lord, have shown me," she said, " in that by thee I have been exalted to the throne of thy glory, and at thy royal hand been loved ; for this, with a loving heart, I thank thee humbly. And since it is human to fail, so forgive me, if I through womanly weakness have not ever been able to please thee fully in all things. Our children, next to God, I commend to thy hands. I ardently pray the Highest who is King of all, that for thee their father, life may be prolonged by as many years as for me, their mother, it is shortened." At these words all present burst into tears ; but the Queen turning to the young Princes and Princesses, exhorted them to virtue and unity. After this she again took Gustavus' hand and kissed it, at which moment her fair and imperishable spirit fled from her fair and perishable body.

This was the 26th of August. As her eyes were darkening, the day began to darken in the skies. An eclipse of the sun took place, which the people explained by saying, that the Heavens took part in the sorrow of earth; and the many misfortunes which from that year revisited the country and the royal family made her death yet more remarkable and significant in the eyes of the nation.

CHAPTER LV.

QUEEN KATHERINE.

THOSE who beheld Gustavus' grief at Margaret's death, who remembered that he was now sixty-one years old, could not have believed it possible that he would soon again have loved and married. Human sorrow like human joy is passing: the King's as the peasants.

We have before spoken of Gustaf Olofsson Stenbock of Torpa, as one of Gustavus' ever faithful friends, appointed by him Governor of West Gothland, and standing high in royal favour. We have seen that at the King's first nuptials, Stenbock was married by him to Brita Lejonhufwud, by which means on his second marriage, Stenbock became his brother-in-law. This couple had twelve children, several of whom were grown up at Queen Margaret's death, among whom was Lady Katherine, then eighteen years old, remarkable for her beauty, beloved for her goodness, and esteemed for her distinguished character by all.

Gustavus was soon so taken by her beauty, that he determined to marry her; and under pretence of settling Queen Margaret's inheritance with her relations, he set out for Torpa. None but the shrewd Lady Brita and her husband yet knew the King's intentions;

their daughter however seems to have had a suspicion of it. The lovely girl was already engaged to the young Gustaf Roos, son of Sir Johan Turesson and Christina Gyllenstjerna. She saw with alarm the arrival of her royal suitor, which threatened to rob her of her lover. In her terror, she hid herself behind a hedge in the garden; but the King discovered her, and lead her himself up to the Castle. What her father and mother said to her we are not told, but she was brought before the King, and obliged to say a humble "yes" to his proposals.

The engagement was however kept secret awhile, an obstacle standing in the way of the marriage, for Katherine was the niece of Gustavus' late Queen. He proposed as a general question to the clergy, "if it was lawful for a man to marry the niece of his former wife?" Archbishop Laurentius Petri, and the rest denied its being so; the King next gave them to understand that the question touched himself: still the Archbishop and several others persisted, and strongly counselled him against this marriage. The Senate already broken and accustomed to obey, soon gave in, and a Synod was appointed in Wadstena for the examination of this matter, where the Bishop of Linköping and several of the chief clergy went over to the King's side. They granted that such a marriage was not according to God's laws, but to prevent disorder in the kingdom, it might this time be permitted. The Archbishop with the Bishops of Strängnäs and Skara however stood firm. "What is fixed as right and proper for all," wrote Archbishop Laurentius, "may not be renitted for high and mighty personages, as if they need not, like all other Christians be subjected to the right and the reasonable. It would then be better to permit the marriage of such near relations to all; otherwise there

will be no law but privilege." He went himself to the King to try to turn him from this purpose, but the aged lover was far too violent to listen to him; and he was on the contrary obliged to endure the vehement outbreaks of his anger; they parted from each other inflexible.

Gustavus now no longer cared for his resistance; the consent of the clergy and the rest of the Senate was sufficient for him. On the 22nd of August, 1552, the year of widowhood not being fully expired, he celebrated his marriage with Fröken Katherine in Wadstena, Bishop Klas Hvit of Linköping, in all things submissive to the King's will, performing the ceremony. The Archbishop would have nothing to do with it, and the majority contemplated this marriage, either with ridicule or offence.

It was not however unhappy. Katherine soon attached herself to her lord with the tenderest and purest devotion; more that of a daughter, however, than that of a wife. She took the noble resolution of making herself worthy her place at the hero's side; of seeking to become to him what Margaret had been; to which aim the whole of her married life was afterwards dedicated. However she could not forget her youthful love; she preserved it in a pure heart, and therefore the longer. It is said that the young Queen often spoke in her sleep. One night when Gustavus lay awake through old age and care, remarking that she said something, he listened and heard these words: "King Gustavus I hold very dear; but Roos will I never forget."

It was long before he could forget her, if he ever did. Like Swante Sture, his half-brother, in the same manner supplanted by the King, he married the sister of his lost bride, Fröken Cecilia Stenbock, and lived with her a happy and contented life.

The Archbishop and Bishops had meanwhile to pay the penalty of having set themselves against the King's will. To decrease their consideration still more, he gave them the title of Ordinarius instead of Bishop. The Sees were also divided, and new Ordinarii, as they were called, placed in Gefle, Örebro, Tuna, Jönköping, Calmar and Wiborg.

After some time, however, Gustavus quieted his wrath, and became reconciled with the Archbishop. He must even have seen how right the latter had been; for in the year 1570, we find him instigated by the Archbishop, giving out a statute which forbid the priests to make unequal marriages, uniting an old and a young person.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE RUSSIAN WAR.

SWEDEN'S eastern neighbours, the numerous but savage Russians had left the Swedes in repose since the peace concluded in Swante Sture's time; but this friendly disposition seemed now at an end. In 1554 they began making ruinous invasions into Finland, which the Fins returned, and war soon burst out along the whole frontier. Gustavus who desired to spare his subjects as long as possible, wrote to inquire the cause of this enmity, and was answered that the Swedes had been gathering taxes in Russian Lapland. The matter was inquired into, when it was ascertained that the Swedish collectors had really done so, but that they had quietly pocketed the amount themselves. Gustavus then wrote to Russia proposing a cessation of hostilities, offering to punish the criminals, and restore what they had taken; but it was too late. Hordes of Russians to the amount of many thousands, fell on the country, ravaging it in many directions, and

the Grand Duke insisted that Gustavus should resign to him a portion of land which had long belonged to the Swedish crown.

When the King saw that there was no probability to get peace, he began arming in earnest. Provisions were collected; armourers set in motion, the fleet equipped, foreign mercenaries brought in, home troops reviewed, and a part sent over to Finland. The aged King himself intended after a time to follow; meanwhile he wrote to his generals the strictest commands, not to engage with superior numbers without compulsion.

On the 2nd of January 1555, a great body of Russians crossed the frontier, ravaging the country, maltreating and murdering the inhabitants in the most inhuman manner, settling finally to the siege of Wiborg. They then collected on Lake Rääfanda, but in such numbers that the ice broke, and the greater part were drowned. The remainder hastened home with their booty.

In the month of March the same year, another troop, thirty-two thousand men strong, conducted by Ivan Bibikoff also crossed the frontier; they divided into four bodies, the largest of which consisting of twelve thousand men turned towards Wiborg. A Finnish nobleman Jöns Månsson marched against them with scarce a thousand men, and some small guns conveyed upon sledges. The Russians advanced with loud shouts; but when they saw the Swedes standing silent and motionless, they likewise stopped at about a bow-shot's distance, and both the hosts regarded each other. The Russian commander then took a measure of brandy, drank Jöns Månsson's health, and cast his cup away before him along the ground; but Jöns Månsson returned the compliment by firing four of

his pieces, which brought the foremost officers of the Russians to the ground, when it was no difficult matter for the Swedes to disperse their people already in disorder. They twice stopped and attempted to make some resistance, but vainly; pursued by so small a body, the whole troop hurried back to Russia with the loss of arms, horses, supplies, and booty; and at the news of this reverse, the other three bodies likewise retired, however, carrying their spoil along with them. The desultory warfare on the frontiers was then renewed, it consisted chiefly in burning each other's farms, stealing away horses, cows, corn and hay, as we read that savage nations conduct their warfare, even to this day. Many highly extolled the bold and lucky feat of Jöns Månsson which we have just related; but the cautious King Gustavus thought it by far too hazardous. "It seems advisable to us," he wrote to his officers, "not to allow Jöns Månsson to be rushing on with his men, according to his own fancy, or depend on his having gained the upper hand the last time he encountered the Russians."

In August Gustavus crossed himself. Prince John, the eldest son of his second marriage, accompanied him; Erik was left at home to govern the kingdom. On the way he met Ambassadors from Livonia, who offered the assistance of the Grand Master with troops against Russia, so that Gustavus entered on this campaign with tolerably good hope. In October James Bagge undertook an adventurous expedition with only four thousand men; he broke into Russia, defeated an army which met him, and made his way as far as Nöteborg; but this Castle was so strongly fortified, and the country round it being laid waste, Bagge thought it wisest to return. An army of between forty and fifty thousand men again met him; but he also this time won a

glorious victory, and brought back his Swedes to head quarters.

In September Gustavus arrived at Wiborg, where he superintended all that regarded the war, and placed new officers. Of these the most remarkable were James Bagge, Klas Kristersson Horn, Henrik Classon Horn, and Nils Boje, all distinguished leaders at a future period. But in November an epidemic broke out among the troops, which forced the King to return to Helsingfors and Åbo, after he had given the most precise and tender directions for the care of the men, and left positive orders with the commanders that they should not engage in useless skirmishes and hazardous enterprises, and instructions in various stratagems they were to practise. "It seems advisable to us," he wrote, "that our people get some strong drinks; either brandy," (and this is probably the first time it is mentioned in Swedish history) "Rhenish wine,* or mead, that they may get a good drink, and be the more bold and hardy to attack the enemy with all their might when they come to engage." He also wrote that they ought to spread a report that the Swedish soldiers, who were carried prisoners to Russia, had been so horribly and inhumanly treated, than an honest man would rather be dead than so miserably tortured. "By such talk, the common kind," he said, "will be the bolder with the Russians when they engage, and not surrender themselves prisoners."

The King, however, had soon greater and harder troubles to experience. In January 1556, a horde of 150,000 Russians broke over the frontier, and after a short but severe struggle with the outposts, they enclosed Wiborg. The Swedes were scarce a twentieth

* For this purpose he sent fourteen pipes of this wine to Wiborg.

part in number, and the Finnish peasants, addicted to drinking and disorder, little to be depended on. The promised help from Poland and Livonia was not heard of; on the contrary, the Grand Master glad to see the Russians employed, concluded with them a separate and advantageous peace. Then Gustavus, overwhelmed by anxieties, wrote home to Erik in the following terms: "Dear son Erik. We are now exposed to so great a danger, that we have never been in such need, and cannot sufficiently deplore it. God Almighty knows what council we shall find; for unless He will grant us His very especial aid and assistance, we are completely done for. Dear son, if you can in any way forward us aid and assistance, either by further troops or good counsel, we very dearly ask that you will exert yourself for us. You shall also strenuously exhort all Ordinarii that they seriously direct, and in the most urgent manner exhort all clergymen to represent to the commonalty the punishment of their and all our sins, and that they faithfully implore God Almighty that the punishment of the same may be averted from us."

This great alarm passed as hastily as it had arisen. When the Russians enclosed Wiborg, they neglected to master a magazine which lay on the shore opposite the Castle, which is itself situated on an island connected with the main land by a long wooden causeway. On the second night of these events the Swedes determined to possess themselves of the hay which the magazine contained; and it being a severe frost without snow, they were obliged to convey it in carts, which rolling throughout the long dark night over the wooden bridge, produced an extraordinary sound which reached the ears of the Russians. They listened, but in the darkness could not conceive or discover the cause; finally, when it continued so long, they imagined that an army of

several thousand men had made their way into the Castle ; they therefore hastily broke up the same night, and made the best of their retreat across the frontier. Some thousands were left behind in the camp to conceal the departure of the rest ; but James Bagge making a sally in the morning, discovered the retreat of the main body, and sent their rear-guard on their traces, wounded and beaten. Thus this great host returned without having accomplished anything but ravaging the parishes between Wiborg and the frontier in the most frightful manner. This was the largest army that had ever threatened the boundaries of Sweden.

The aged King could not fully rejoice in this unexpected good fortune, for he ever feared a second attack, in which belief he was confirmed by a comet which was seen at that time. Himself an enemy of the superstitions of Romanism, he was not free from those of the age. "Dear son," he wrote to Erik, "we cannot conceal from you that a large comet has been seen in Finland for a long time, stretching from North East to South West. Now as such frightful signs in the sky generally portend some evil, we would willingly see, that you through the Ordinarii command all priests to be exhorted to general prayer to Almighty God, that he would deign mercifully to turn away the punishment and plague which this same comet portends." Gustavus fearing that the Russians would infest the whole country, intended to travel home round the head of the Gulf of Bothnia, as the narrow sea of Åland was insecure on account of the ice. Afterwards thinking he might be shut in by the Russians in East Bothnia, he changed his intention, and crossed to Castelholm in Åland ; whence he wrote to Erik for ships for his return. But these precautions became superfluous.

The Russians began to show themselves inclined for peace; Gustavus had always wished it, so that it was not long before negotiations commenced. The Russians at first insisted on the King, or one of his sons, coming in person to Novogorod to treat with the Grand Duke's officer, for the Grand Duke, they opined, was a Prince higher than any King; however, they were obliged to content themselves with less. The King's brother-in-law, Sten Eriksson Lejonhufwud and Archbishop Laurentius, set out with some others to Moscow, and concluded the peace there. One of the clauses of the conditions they proposed, was, that Gustavus should cause James Bagge's head to be struck off, the Russians both fearing and hating him, and accusing him of having begun the war. This the Swedes refused. It was finally settled that the boundaries of the two kingdoms should remain as before, and that the disasters of the war should be mutually forgotten, which treaty was confirmed the following year in Stockholm by the Russian Ambassador kissing the cross.

While the embassy was in Moscow, the Grand Duke desired to hear a disquisition between the Swedish Archbishop and the Patriarch of Russia on their different creeds. They were both ordered to Court, and were both ready to begin when the difficulty arose as to what language they were to use. The Grand Duke wished Russian or German, both of which he understood; but the Archbishop did not know Russian, the Patriarch did not know German. It was then fixed that it was to take place in Greek, and the Grand Duke's interpreter was to translate it into Russian. This man was too little versed in Greek for his office, but did not dare to let the Czar perceive his ignorance; the conversation therefore began, and he translated as well as he could; many times, however, not under-

standing a word of what was said, not to betray himself he repeated to the Grand Duke what he himself thought most suitable for the occasion. Except the Patriarch and Bishop Agricola of Åbo, there was no one present who understood both languages, and his stratagem was therefore only perceived by them. The Patriarch held his peace, for he had difficulty in replying to the Archbishop's arguments. Agricola was also silent for a long time ; but at last when the interpreter was making the most extravagant extempore flourishes, quite apart from the meaning of the reverend fathers, he burst into a laugh. The Grand Duke inquired, and learnt the cause ; he laughed at it himself, desired the dispute to cease, and hung a heavy gold chain over the Archbishop's shoulders, whose venerable demeanour and appearance had all along won his admiration.

CHAPTER LVII.

THE ARMS OF THE THREE CROWNS.

It was a heavy task for the Danes, and one they slowly learnt, to forget the power they had once possessed in Sweden, and to renounce all hopes of regaining it in future. When in 1544, Sweden was declared an hereditary kingdom, they saw in this a great hindrance in the way of the Unions being ever renewed. But that a pretext for such a thing might still lie open, they determined, though secretly, to introduce the three crowns of Sweden into the royal arms of Denmark ; it was however to be done in a quiet manner. When Christian, in 1548 celebrated his daughter's marriage, he had the Swedish shield with the three crowns painted on her carriage together with the arms of Denmark and Norway. This was the first attempt. Gus-

tavus informed of it, made a serious representation ; Christian excused it as a trifle, an innocent liberty which the painter had taken, and there the matter stopped.

While Sweden was engaged in the war with Russia, the three crowns were more openly adopted in Denmark. The Crown Prince Fredrick, young and impetuous, caused them to be engraved on his seal ; and a Danish Lord let these words proudly fall : " That he would require sharp teeth and talons who would scrape the three crowns out of the shield of Denmark." Gustavus, whose attention was fully taken up in Finland, paid no heed to this.

But at last, in 1557, the three crowns were introduced into the very signet of Denmark, and as such soon came before Gustavus' eyes. The old King was wrath. He wrote to Christian, and expostulated with him as to the reason he had for this proceeding. " Neither he nor his father, King Fredrick, had before used this insignia ; King Gustavus had reigned before both Fredrick and Christian, and helped both to their throne, especially the latter ; he therefore had by no means expected such a return, particularly from Christian, who ought to remember Gustavus' friendship during the Grefvefejd." The Danish King answered evasively, that the three crowns were used merely as a symbol of their ancient alliance : and there the matter rested. Both monarchs were old and desired repose.

On Christian's death in 1559, Gustavus however demanded of Fredrick, his successor, that he should set the three crowns aside, but in vain. A Danish vessel with this newly augmented shield painted on its stern arrived at Stockholm. Prince John in his indignation caused the hated insignia to be hewn to pieces, and great ill-will ensued between the two people. When the old

Kings were dead and succeeded by their youthful sons, it soon broke into open war, and the inhabitants of both kingdoms, by their blood and their dearly purchased possessions, had to pay the penalty of the pride and ambition of their Sovereigns.

CHAPTER LVIII.

PRINCE ERIK.

ON the 13th of December, 1533, was born at nine o'clock in the evening, the Prince Erik, Gustavus Wasa's eldest son, by Catherine of Lauenburg. Three days before his birth, his mother lay in the most dreadful agonies. On the last evening the King's physician, who according to the custom of the time was also an astronomer, came to inquire into her condition. When he heard in the anti-chamber that she was not yet delivered, he exclaimed: "Fall on your knees and pray with me that it may not happen at this hour, for there are dark and evil signs in the sky, and were he now to be born, it would be to the sorrow of Sweden!" And while he yet spoke the child was born, and its cry was heard from the bed-chamber. This time unfortunately the prophecy of the astronomer proved but too correct.

The young Prince gave the best promise while he was growing up. He had from nature a handsome and manly appearance, a supple and strong body, developed by a hardy education. When a youth, he excelled almost all his companions in racing, swimming, dancing; in the tennis court, in the lists, and in all feats of agility. It was a pleasure, but a fearful one, to see him careering on horseback. He was likewise richly gifted with mental endowments, and was a remarkably learned man in his day. He wrote an easy and elegant Latin; but he was particularly skilled in astronomy and mathe-

metics. Like his father, he was a lover of music, and composed himself; his poetry is also the best of his day in Swedish. His first tutor was George Norrman, who had been sent to Sweden by Luther and Melancthon; but afterwards, when he was needed by the King in the Government, Dionysius Beurres, a Frenchman, was appointed in his place, and Göran Persson of Sala, a man whom the King could never well endure; these two last did the Prince little good. Beurres filled his head with the astrological superstitions so common in those days, and gave him the first unhappy idea of courting Elizabeth of England. Göran Persson it was, who on the other hand enticed him into so many dangerous undertakings which rendered his government detested.

Erik too had his faults, and those not slight ones. He was passionate and suspicious like his father; capricious, changeable, and occasionally melancholy like his mother; moreover extravagant and devoted to pleasure. "Erik's balls will one day become golden apples for his favourites," said Gustavus, when he saw his son's passion for tennis. The King thus the easier removed his dislike for the mother to her son; while John, the child of his beloved Margaret and resembling her, gained his father's whole heart and confidence. Erik soon perceived these sentiments, and his mind was embittered both towards his father and his brother. It is also said that John's relatives secretly inflamed this misunderstanding, in the hopes that the father might be excited to exclude Erik and name John as his heir. This, however, did not take place, but doubtless his partiality laid the first ground of the hatred which afterwards made Erik a tyrant and John a fratricide.

At the conclusion of the war with Russia, the whole

of Finland was made over to John, according to his father's will, to be his government and patrimony. A treaty of marriage between him and a Princess of Poland was also set on foot, which circumstances both much increased the consideration he enjoyed. Erik was envious, and demanded likewise a province to govern. Calmar and its dependencies were bestowed upon him ; however, before he was permitted to take possession of it, he had to give his father an express promise, confirmed by oath, not to undertake anything against him. About the time that Erik was to set out, it happened that in some game in the great hall of the Castle in Stockholm, taking a leap, he struck his head a hard blow against a lustre ; and it was thought by some that the unaccountable fits, amounting almost to madness, which had been remarked before, though seldom, increased and became more violent after this unhappy accident.

Arrived at Calmar, Erik established a gay and brilliant Court, to which many, foreseeing that the old King's death could not be far removed, hastened to ingratiate themselves with the heir. They flattered his pride, inflamed his dislike of his father and brother, and took part in his many excesses, which excited aversion for him throughout the country. Erik set spies on every word and action of his father's, and when Gustavus let a syllable drop against his son, their first business was to carry it to his ears. The thoughtless Erik did not conceal his displeasure on these reports, but burst into violent expressions both in words and in his letters to his father. This naturally incensed Gustavus : " It is most displeasing to me," he wrote, " that you suffer such toads to bring their lies to you. We, thank God, know how to conduct ourselves towards our children, though we are not perhaps so learned in the Latin

tongue as you may be. It is an old proverb, 'If the children are four and twenty years old, the father is still the eldest.'"

Erik, however, spite of these remonstrances, went so far as to hold meetings with the people, collecting money, and even exacting a separate oath of fealty and allegiance, without either his father's knowledge or consent. Gustavus was grieved when he heard it, and fearing rebellion, called in a large body of German cavalry for his body guard, complaining loudly and bitterly of Erik whom he named his Absalom; he was on the point of disinheriting him, had he not been induced to take him into favour again, through the intercession of many, especially that of Duke John, the object of Erik's hatred. However, this did not conduce to restore their amity; gratefully to acknowledge a benefit received from a hated enemy requires a nobler soul than was possessed by Prince Erik, or than most possess.

CHAPTER LIX.

PRINCESS AMELIA.

In the autumn of 1559, Princess Catherine, the elder of King Gustavus' daughters, was married to Edzard, Count of East Friesland. She was a good and sensible woman, handsome and well-formed besides, like all his children. However, chief in this respect was the Princess Cecilia, who was equally distinguished for her wit and liveliness. The court poets of the time praise her as lovelier than Venus; they could not sufficiently extol her white skin, her golden hair and sparkling eyes; they protested that her soul was adorned with equal virtues. In company of Count Edzard, had come his brother John of East Friesland, a handsome

and lively youth, the darling of his mother, and the favourite of ladies in general. He was soon captivated by Cecilia, and she equally so with him; they suited each other in beauty, wit, and age, he being twenty-one, she nineteen. They were ever seen in the palace-halls talking and joking together; the Court predicted that they would one day be a pair; and the King and the young man's family seemed by no means averse to such a connexion.

Meanwhile the marriage festivals were drawing to a conclusion; the Princess's rich dower was paid down; Count Edzard hurried his departure, and John and Cecilia beheld the hour of parting approach with dismay. Erik was appointed to accompany the travellers to the frontiers, and Cecilia requested her father's permission to be of her sister's party so far. He suspecting nought, gave his consent, and the journey began. It went slowly; the royal party were every where received with festivity, and sumptuous entertainments were prepared for them; the rich nobles, many of whom were the near relations of the bride, wishing to contribute to her honour and that of the kingdom in the eyes of foreigners. After the lapse of a month, the travellers had not got further than to Wadstena, where they stopped for some time, and were entertained by Magnus afterwards Duke of East Gothland, the King's third son. Meanwhile the relation between Count John and the Princess had grown gradually more intimate, till it became criminal at last, for they resembled each other in levity. Cecilia, daughter of the noble-hearted Queen Margaret, the irreproachable King Gustavus, forgot at last her own honour, and that of her family so far as to receive secret and nocturnal visits from her lover. The sentries round the Castle of Wadstena were the first to perceive how, in the darkness, he placed a ladder

against Cecilia's window, and was admitted. They did not dare to announce it formally ; but a whisper of the matter spread through the town, and reached Erik's ears. He consulted with his brother Magnus and some other Lords, and they stopped at the resolution of trying to surprise the lover. The watch was desired to have an eye to Cecilia's window ; on the third night the Count was seen climbing into it ; they softly removed the ladder, and informed Erik that they had caught the bird in the maiden's bower. Erik and Magnus at first insisted on entering, and themselves dragging him out ; the others dissuaded him from this, fearing lest the indignant brothers should shed blood in the struggle. Charles de Mornay and some others were sent in their stead ; they burst into Cecilia's room, and found the Count in a light and unseemly undress. Erik had him immediately thrown into prison, and some say treated in the most cruel manner. After this he was sent a prisoner through the whole country to the King, with a letter and a regular protocol concerning the whole affair. Count Edzard postponed his departure in the hopes of assisting his brother ; and general consternation and surprise spread through the country at this scandalous discovery.

The old father received with the utmost grief the news of his daughter's crime, published by his son's thoughtlessness. " We pray God," he wrote to Erik, " that He would take us from this world that we may be saved from such a sorrow inflicted by those who ought to have been the first to spare and console us." But as Erik had made the matter so public that there was no longer a possibility of hushing it, Gustavus was obliged to assume an appearance of the greatest severity. John was cast into strict confinement in Örby house ; his brother Edzard, with his wife, were not permitted to

return to Stockholm, but were forced to remain at Westerås, till at a later date they were suffered to visit the King, and implore on their knees John's pardon, for it appeared as if the deeply-injured father intended to punish him with loss of life.

When Erik perceived that the thing had taken so serious a turn, and rued perhaps his own precipitancy in the conduct of it, attempting to make it up again, he wrote and repeated everywhere, that John had sought one of the women in waiting, and not the Princess herself. To defend her honour against scandal, he caused a medal to be struck with her head on one side and Susanna in the bath on the other, which was to signify that Cecilia was as innocently accused as the fair Israelite of old. No one believed him; many thought the medal a mockery; Cecilia's fame was lost, and remained so.

Meanwhile the old Countess of East Friesland learnt the danger that hung over her most beloved son: full of anguish she appealed to many of the neighbouring German Princes for their mediation, and presently one embassy after the other arrived at Stockholm to obtain John's deliverance. Gustavus had then nothing else to do but to grant their request; however, John was obliged to present himself before the King, who received him, surrounded by his sons John and Magnus, the Senate and chief officers of the Court, in whose presence he was obliged to take a solemn oath on his own and Princess Cecilia's innocence, after which he was declared free, and hurried out of the kingdom.

Erik's increasing ingratitude and bitterness towards his father, had added to his cares every year. Cecilia's dishonour finally filled up the measure of affliction, and made the year 1560 as bitter as the last. This misfortune struck Gustavus deeply; on the first news of

it he called his confessor, Master Johannes, to his presence. When he came, the King advanced towards him and said: "O Johannes, my soul is exceedingly sorrowful, even unto death;" and the tears gushed from his eyes. His former violent temper sometimes broke out against his two undutiful children; at other times he tried with resignation to bear his grief. Thus he once stood, and contemplating the arch of the rainbow, thanked God, who by affliction, had bent his formerly proud and hard heart. "The proud and imperious," he said, "are unacquainted with the grace of Heaven." Whether anger or submission ruled his soul by turns, his sorrow never removed, consumed his health and spirits, and shortened his days. His servants sometimes surprised him as he sat and spoke with his young Queen, and remarked both by his voice and his eyes that he had been weeping; by the words they overheard, they understood that it was the conduct of his children which had called forth the father's tears. He fell at last into a severe illness from which for a short time he recovered; but it soon returned and laid him in the grave.

Count John hastened from this unhappy expedition back to East Friesland; he was never married, and from that time abhorred the society of women. When Cecilia, being then married, came to visit her sister Catherine, he avoided meeting her. He lived beloved and respected by the unhappy, especially those persecuted on account of religion, who ever found support and protection from him.

We will here relate Cecilia's career and end: it was like her beginning. After her father's death, she shone for awhile in Erik's light and brilliant Court. Her beauty and her large dower, however, procured pretenders to her hand. The Count of

Teczin, a Pole, was said to be favoured by her, but not by Erik; he died on one of his expeditions to court her. The Grand Duke of Russia also proposed, but was refused both by her brother and herself. At last she was married to Christopher, Margrave of Baden, who had been long in the Swedish service, and must therefore have been well acquainted with her fault. He however paid his folly dearly. Cccilia was never happy at home, but travelled about continually; was at first well received everywhere on account of her birth and personal charms, but soon despised for her light conduct. In these journies she entirely squandered her reputation and her fortune. Her large dower was almost entirely spent, when her husband died in 1575, having long experienced her faithlessness. After his death she embraced Romanism, and was therefore assisted by her brother John III; but she soon sunk into the most contemptible manner of life, and the greatest poverty.

Her children were all unfortunate or criminal. Edward the eldest, a violent, unjust and licentious man was known by the name of "the mad Margrave:" he finally fell down a stair, being drunk, and broke his neck. The second, Christopher, was lame and blind; the third, Philip, led a very unsettled life. The youngest was called John Charles, and became a Knight of Malta. At the age of twenty-three, he arrived at Antwerp in 1594, where he found his wretched mother, now fifty-four years old, pursuing her disgraceful mode of life. He asked and obtained the permission of the magistrates to remove her. The son then drove the mother out of her dwelling; and as she resisted, kicked and dragged her, by her once extolled golden locks, all down the street in spite of her screams, treating her so violently that one of her arms were dislocated. After this he shut her up somewhere in the country far from all eyes.

His mother's dishonour, and perhaps remorse for the barbarity with which he had treated her, had however such an effect upon him, that from that day he fell into a consumption, which soon laid the youth, lately so blooming and full of life, in the grave. Cecilia continued to live without husband, without children, without consideration, without protection. It is even unknown how and at what place she passed the last days of her life. A mere note informs us that she died in 1627, then eighty-seven years old.

CHAPTER LX.

ERIK'S COURTSHIP TO ELIZABETH.

WE have before mentioned that it was Dionysius Beurheus, Prince Erik's tutor who gave him the first hint of courting Elizabeth; a Reformist, himself, he hoped with her to introduce the Reformed religion into Sweden, while Erik's ambition and love of pleasure made it an easy task to persuade him to put himself on the list of her many admirers. The imagination excited by exaggerated accounts of her charms, and the thought of becoming sovereign of two kingdoms, he eagerly sought his father's consent to this undertaking. The old King refused saying, "if even Erik should gain Elizabeth, which I do not think, it would be more to the harm than the profit of both kingdoms." But Erik was in this matter so violent and pertinacious, that Gustavus was obliged at last to give in, and the States soon after consented. First Dionysius Beurheus, and then Sture Eriksson Lejonhufvud were sent to England. Elizabeth answered evasively at first, but afterwards that she considered an unmarried life the happiest, with which reply Sten Eriksson returned, and Gustavus would hear no more of the matter.

Mary of England died meanwhile; and in 1558 Elizabeth mounted the throne, which event excited Erik's ambition to a still greater pitch. That he might have better success in courting a Queen, he adopted from this time the title of Arf-konung. This confident Dionsyus Beurres had remained in London, where he lived with great pomp, keeping open table at Erik's expense; and every kind word the crafty Elizabeth permitted to escape her, was caught up by Beurres and repeated to Erik as incontrovertible proofs of her good will towards him. He, in his credulous joy, got his father to agree to a fresh embassy, consisting of Gustaf Roos, Carl Gera, and Charles de Mornay. Erik suspected his brother John of counteracting this marriage; but on the contrary he had exerted his best influence with his father to gain his consent, and even offered himself to go to England on his brother's errand. It is suspected that he would gladly have seen Erik mount the throne of England, that he might have afterwards had greater facility in gaining possession of that of Sweden. Gustavus was hardly to be persuaded to suffer his dearest son to depart, but the precautions of his age were obliged to give way before the impetuosity of youth. John was equipped in the most sumptuous manner, and set sail in September, 1559, and King Gustavus' sorrow was not a little increased by the heavy sums he had to pay, for all this courting made a deep hole in Herr Eskil's Hall. The expenses were great of themselves, and not a little increased by Erik's thoughtlessness; deceived by Beurres' letters, he considered his marriage so certain that he ordered a hundred dresses of the most expensive and magnificent description to be prepared for him in Antwerp.

When John arrived in London, he was received in a courteous manner by Elizabeth; but could not however

receive any determinate answer from her. Sometimes she spoke of her repugnance for marriage ; sometimes how hard it was to marry a person one had never seen. She however always expressed herself with the highest encomiums on Erik's perfections, possessing herself happy, if she ever did marry, to find such a husband. The Swedish Ambassadors now returned, the one after the other, without having received any precise answer. Arrived at home, they first visited Erik to give an account of their embassy, and he then prescribed them what they should relate and what conceal from the King his father, whom he thus thought to deceive, but to his own cost. He did not long succeed in doing so ; letters arrived from Elizabeth for both Erik and Gustavus, finishing with the declaration that she had determined to live unmarried, for which reason she particularly begged King Gustavus "as a highly enlightened Prince to seek another bride for his son !" Gustavus clearly perceived that there was now nothing more to be done, and wrote Erik a long letter, rehearsing to him the dangers attendant on his enterprise, quoting the large sums which had been spent upon it already, and counselling him against any further trials in the same direction, impressing upon him, moreover, that the King-inheritor of Sweden, did not require to go and beg a bride ; but all in vain. Shortly after Sten Eriksson Lejonhufwud returned from England, who on his arrival was met by two messengers, one from the King and one from the Prince, both with orders to speak to him first and without delay. Herr Sten then set out for Gustavus, and told him how little hope there was of final success. Erik was highly incensed at this conduct of his father and his Ambassador, and complained of it in no measured terms.

Sten Eriksson had said that the Queen of England

would never give Erik her consent, unless in his own person he were able entirely to win her heart. Erik took fire immediately at this new proposal ; he would go himself to England, but incognito ; disguised as the servant of some foreign lord :—thus he would see, thus conquer Elizabeth. In vain were the warnings and expostulations of his friends, till the project at last reached the King's ears, who forbad the whole journey as a hazardous and very unsuitable undertaking.

After John had been long in London, and received there many fair words, but no fixed promise, he was obliged to return home. On his departure, with royal munificence, he caused silver coins to be scattered among the people. “ They will turn to gold,” he said, “ when my brother himself arrives.”

John related that Elizabeth had once said, “ that though she had no desire for marriage, she could not however answer for what she might do, if she saw Erik himself.” These words again excited his hopes. Though with much trouble, he did at last get his father's consent to his making a journey to England in his own person. It was postponed from time to time, and at last entirely deferred ; but this expensive, foolish, and after so many refusals, degrading courtship, continued long, even after the death of Gustavus, and was no inconsiderable cause of Erik's later misfortunes.

CHAPTER LXI.

KING GUSTAVUS'S OLD AGE.

EVER since Queen Margaret's death, a remarkable change was perceptible in the King's powers and temper ; still more so after the harassing Russian invasion, and the heartfelt griefs caused him by Erik and Cecilia. Add to this, the usual misfortune of old age, he saw

the friends of his youth and his manhood fall at his side. His beloved Margaret first; then in 1554 Lars Siggeson Sparre, the faithful friend, tried in weal and woe. Then Mäns Johansson Nattoch Dag, Axel Bjelke, Johan Turesson Roos, and several of his contemporaries. In 1559, died, at very short intervals, his brother-in-law and neighbour Christian III, his former antagonist, the old Christian the Tyrant, and last the admirable Christina Gyllenstjerna. The King was left alone, like an old tree of the forest, solitary amidst the rising generation.

Care and an unremitting assiduity had exhausted his strength before the time; his memory once so strong, was beginning to fail. It was remarked that he hesitated in seeking names and changed his orders, a thing before unheard of with him. His temper became more difficult and unequal; he complained of his officers, particularly the stewards; and said he was an unhappy man in every respect. As it was now impossible for any one to please him, his confessor was at last obliged to remonstrate. At a confession he represented to the King how little cause he had for discontent, how God in such large measure and so wonderfully had blest him, and how he ought rather with a grateful heart to return thanks for such mercies, than by unbecoming complaints sin against his Maker, and weary out his fellow-creatures. Gustavus received the exhortation with humility, remitted many of the taxes he had before so rigorously exacted, and complained no more; but his former gaiety never returned. He found no more delight in his once loved lute, but sent his instruments and his music to his sons. He saw in everything an omen of his death. A comet was seen in 1559; some conflagrations and other misfortunes happened at the same time. "It concerns me," he said, "God grant me

time to prepare." New years' day 1560, he said, "this year will be my last. I require none to prophecy to me from the stars, I feel the boding planets in my own body."

CHAPTER LXII.

KING GUSTAVUS'S LAST SPEECH TO THE STATES OF SWEDEN.

FOR the purpose of confirming his last Will and Testament, as well as to settle regarding Erik's journey to England, Gustavus summoned a general meeting of the States in Stockholm for the month of June. They were called into the Hall of Audience on the 25th. When they were assembled, the King entered accompanied by his sons. The three eldest stood side by side according to their ages on the left; Charles the youngest, who was but ten years' old, stood at his father's feet. Then the King spake as follows:

"I venerate the power of God, who in me has again elevated to the old throne of Sweden the old race of Sweden's Kings from Magnus Ladulås and Karl Knutsson. Those amongst you who have attained to any years have doubtless learnt how our dear fatherland was for many centuries before in great misery and oppression under foreign rulers and Kings, especially under the harsh tyrant King Christian, and how it pleased God through me to deliver us from this tyranny. Therefore ought we, high and low, Lord and master, old and young, never to forget the same Almighty aid. For what man was I, to expel so mighty a Lord, who ruled not only over three kingdoms, but was allied and nearly connected with the Emperor and the most powerful Princes. I could not imagine so great a glory would be mine when in forests and among the rocks of the desert I was obliged to conceal myself from the

sword of the blood-thirsty enemy. But God impelled the work, and made me his instrument in whom His omnipotence should be revealed; and I may well compare myself to David, whom the Lord took from being a poor shepherd, to be a King over all his people—" and here the tears burst from his eyes.

"I thank you, faithful subjects, that you have pleased to elevate me to the royal dignity, and make me the ancestor of your royal house. Not less do I thank you for the fidelity and aid you have given me in my Government. That during this time God has permitted His pure and precious word to enter in among us, and that He also in temporal concerns has prospered and endowed the kingdom with all manner of blessing, as we see before our eyes; for this we ought, good men and subjects, with the greatest humility and gratitude to give God the glory.

"It is well known to me, that I, in the estimation of many, have been a stern King; but the time will come when the children of Sweden would wish to tear me from my grave, if they could do it. But I must not blush to acknowledge human weakness and failings, for none is perfect and without fault. Therefore I beg you, that you as faithful subjects, will for Christ's sake forgive and overlook what errors there may have been in my Government. My intentions have always been for the weal of this kingdom and its inhabitants. My grey hairs, my wrinkled brow, bear sufficient witness to the many dangers, adversities, and cares, which I, in the forty years of my reign, have had to undergo.

"I know well that the Swedes are swift to promise, slow to exanine. I can clearly foresee that many spirits of delusion will arise in the future; I therefore pray and exhort you, hold yourself fast to God's word, and reject what does not agree with it. Be obedient to your

rulers, and united among yourselves. My time is soon out. I require neither stars nor any other sign to prophecy that to me ; I feel in my own body the tokens that I shall soon go hence, and at the foot of the King of Kings lay down my account for the glorious but perishable crown of the kingdom of Sweden. Follow me therefore with your faithful prayers, and when I have laid my eyes together, let my ashes rest in peace."

With this he stretched out his hands, for the last time blessing his people. His grey hair, his fallen, but still majestic appearance, the tears which sometimes came into his eyes, his voice ever pleasant, but now tremulous by age and emotion, and finally the thought that they were about to lose him for ever ; him, their father, teacher, and benefactor, all combined to awaken the deepest emotion in the whole assembly. Tears streamed from every eye, and they could scarce prevent their sobs from drowning the sound of the beloved voice. Gustavus arose, and supporting himself on his two eldest sons, he left the hall, turning his head now and then, by looks and tearful eyes to take yet a last farewell. The assembly followed close on his traces ; those who could not in person, followed by their looks his grey head, with tears imploring a thousand blessings upon it.

CHAPTER LXIII.

GUSTAVUS WASA'S DEATH.

At this Diet King Gustavus's Testament was accepted and sworn to by his sons and subjects. Gustavus then made over the Government to Erik ; as he however incessantly urged his departure for England, it was fixed that in case the King should die during his absence, Duke John should conduct the Regency.

On the 14th of August, Erik took leave of his father

to commence his journey. The old King was unable to accompany him out of the palace; but when some time after, the thunder of the cannons proclaimed Erik's departure, his father fell into such an anguish that he became ill. His sorrow and sickness increased on the following day, when Count John of East Friesland, as we have before related, had to take his oath before the whole Court, on his and Princess Cecilia's innocence. The old King could not bear all this, and was laid in the afternoon to bed. It was his death-bed. The illness was in the beginning like that he lately had, but soon increased and was not to be cured. On the 25th of August, he had his sons John, Magnus and Charles called to him. He exhorted them to unity, and reminded them how the sons of Magnus Ladulås, by incessant envy and dissensions, had caused the ruin of the kingdom, and the fall of the royal family. "If you wish to preserve the crown in your own race," he said, "honour and obey him who wears it, and labour ever for each others good."

The King's doctor Le Palu was absent at the commencement of his illness. His confessor, Master Johannes, was called, who began with a long exhortation to patience; the King interrupted him, and asked instead, "medicine for a sick stomach and a burning head." Master Johannes exerted himself to the best of his ability, but in vain. Le Palu soon arrived; but his aid was likewise fruitless, and Gustavus himself joked so at their efforts, that the bystanders were obliged to smile. During his illness his temper was often unequal, and he was very fretful. Once when Duke Magnus, who was an inoffensive but not very bright youth, entered, he said to him: "Thou art dear to me; thou hast never angered me." He once complained that even his very children avoided him; the

Queen then answered: "Speak not so, my Lord! They would willingly be with you; but your Grace gets angry immediately, and speak to them so harshly, that they with tears fear they can never please their father." Before he fell ill, he had himself instructed Master Johannes how he should prepare him for death. On the 23rd of September, he was very severely seized, and asked to confess. When Johannes had long and austere represented to him his human imperfections, the King interrupted him, saying: "Thou hast enough sharpened the edge of the Law against me, it is time with the Gospel to console a smarting conscience." After this he partook of the Sacrament, desired some prisoners to be released, and begged those present to forgive him what he had sinned against them. Shortly after Duke John entered, whom the King informed that he had now made his confession; the Duke begged him to keep to it firm and steadily. His father, no longer able to speak, desired a pen, and wrote the words: "Once said, and abided by, is better than speaking a hundred times." His hand was unable to write the well-known sentence to an end. Duke John received and preserved the paper, but forgot the injunction.

Besides the physicians, Master Martin, pastor of the Cathedral of Upsala, Privy Counsellor Sten Lejonhufwud, his confessor, Master Johannes, and the Archbishop Laurentius Petri were by turns with the King; the Queen continually. During his whole sickness she never left his side. On the 27th of September, the doctor told her that he could not recover; she fell ill the same day, but could not be persuaded to remove her bed from the King's room, and had her eyes continually fixed upon him. He lay quiet the whole of the 28th, and would not receive any more medicine; he only made a sign

to his confessor that he should speak to him. The whole night between the 28th and 29th he lay in a death-like slumber; now and then Johannes bent over his head, and gently repeated some consolatory text from Holy Writ. At last in the morning, Sten Eriksson Lejonhufwud said, "All that you speak is vain, he can no longer hear it." Master Johannes on the contrary insisted that the King yet understood them; he bent down, saying somewhat louder: "My Lord, if you believe in Jesus Christ, and hear my words, give us a token of it." "Yes," answered the King with a loud voice to the astonishment of all, and after a few breathings he was dead. This was at eight in the forenoon on the 29th of September, 1560.

The funeral obsequies were celebrated in December. The coffins of his two first Queens had been placed in the vaults of the High Church of Stockholm, but were now removed to be conveyed along with the King's corpse to Upsala. The procession left Stockholm on the 17th of December. First a troop of soldiers, then students and priests singing psalms; afterwards the banners of the provinces of Sweden, borne by nobles appointed for the purpose, of whom Birger Grip came last with the banner of the kingdom; after him Gabriel Oxenstjerna with the helmet, Ture Bjelke with the cuirass, Swante Sture with the sword, and Gustaf Roos with the horse. Then followed the royal corpse, carried by the chief of the clergy; then King Erik, accompanied by his brother; then the Senators; then the Queen Dowager with all the ladies; afterwards the nobility, burghers, &c. The procession advanced slowly; the royal corpse was placed every night in a church, and watched by two bishops and thirty clergymen. On the 21st of December they marched into Upsala and into the Cathedral, followed by a countless

multitude. Two sermons were preached, after which the Senators bore the coffin into the vault, and the Archbishop read the burial service. When it was done, Swante Sture thrice struck the sword against the marble floor, calling aloud each time, "Now is King Gustavus dead!" After which he delivered the sword to Erik; drums and trumpets sounded within the church, and the cannon without. The procession then left it and separated.

King Gustavus I. lies buried in the Cathedral of Upsala, the largest and chiefest of the kingdom. His resting-place is in the upper choir, within the high altar. King John caused a monument to be raised above the grave, on which lies the figure of the King as large as life between his two first wives. Fire has injured the monument, his memory remains unperishable.

BOOK II.

ERIK THE FOURTEENTH.

CHAPTER I.

OF KING ERIK.

ERIK had proceeded no further than Elfsborg on his expedition to England when he received the news of his father's death, on which he immediately turned back again to Stockholm. His progress was very slow, for he summoned the people to meet him wherever he passed, and made them take their oath of fealty and allegiance as if he had been making his Eriksgata. He wished to assure himself of their obedience, for he already feared his brothers, particularly Duke John. For the same reasons he sent some officers, on whom he could depend, to take possession of the principal fortresses. To gain the nobility to his side, many of whom were nearly related to the Dukes, he made a statute by which it was permitted for all Lords to regain their estates which they could prove had been unjustly taken from them at the time of his father's perquisition. At last, on the 30th of November, he made his entry into Stockholm.

CHAPTER II.

KING ERIK'S CONTEMPORARIES.

By the massacres made under Christian the Tyrant, and the extortions and avarice of the Romish clergy, the nobles had become few in number and poor in purse; but their riches and importance had much increased during the reign of Gustavus I.

Swante Sture was the chief among them, both on account of his ancestry, his own unspotted fame, and his being the King's brother-in-law. He was a mild and pious gentleman; his wife, on the contrary, Martha Lejonhufwud, was proud and arrogant, and was indeed generally known by the name of "King Martha." They had many children; the daughters were married into the first families: three with Bjelkes, one to Erik Stenbock, and one to Gustaf Banér. The sons turned out well. This family lived at Hörningsholm in Södermanland.

At Rydboholm lived Peter Brahe, an honourable, learned, and economical man, respected on account of his old family and his double relationship with the old King. He was the King's nephew, and at the same time his brother-in-law, being married to Beata Stenbock, Queen Catherine's sister.

The old Gustaf Olofsson Stenbock of Torpa was yet alive. His daughters had made splendid alliances; his sons were proud of being brothers-in-law of the old King, and were rude and violent men, particularly Olof.

Gustavus Wasa's brother-in-law, Sten Eriksson Lejonhufwud, was a man held in high repute for his wisdom and experience. Though Duke John's uncle, he remained faithful to Erik as long as it was possible to be so. His wife was Ebba Liljehök, daughter of the beheaded Mäns Bryntesson, and of Turc Jönsson's sister. The hatred they inherited for the Wasas was increased by her temper, for she was known through the country for her litigiousness, avarice, and pride, and was always spoken of under the name of Count Ebba. Her children and grand-children inherited this disposition from her, and were distinguished as such in after generations. This family lived at Gräfenäs.

Christina Gyllenstjerna left by her second husband, Johan Turesson Roos, an only son, Sir Gustaf, who as we have seen was married to Cecilia Stenbock. He was a good man, but did not live long, and this family before so powerful sank into insignificance.

King Erik inherited from his father's time many able and faithful officers, both in the cabinet and the field. Of the former we have just spoken; among the latter we may mention James Bagge, Nils Boje, Klas Christerson Horn, and his uncle Henry Klasson. But he had likewise the favourites of his own youth, among whom may be principally noted the crafty Nils Gyllenstjerna, who afterwards became Chancellor; Dionysius Beurres his former tutor, who was now appointed Senator; Charles de Mornay, a Frenchman, proud, persevering and brave, and devoted to Erik to the death. But chief among all his favourites stood Göran Persson, the son of a priest of Sala who had married at the beginning of the Reformation; but as such marriages were considered unlawful by many, the children were despised, and Göran Persson was often called by the contemptuous appellation of priest bastard. By assiduous study and foreign travel, he had acquired great learning and ability in affairs, by which, and his engaging manners he had gained Erik's confidence, who as soon as he became King nominated him his vice-secretary and procurator. Göran was a cunning, persevering and hard man, a back-biter, and even liar when it suited his purpose. He envied and hated the old nobility, and with such feelings was doubly dear to Erik, who feared them as the kin and partisans of Duke John: he therefore lent a willing ear to this man's secret denunciations, who sought by every means in his power to turn the King's affections from his brothers and the nobility that he and his might attain the greatest

power. Amongst these were his brother Christopher and Master Petrus Caroli. This last, in the capacity of chaplain, had so ingratiated himself in Erik's favour, that as soon as he received the Government of Calmar, Petrus was immediately called for, and appointed Ordinarius. Though hated by both the priests and the nobility, Master Petrus remained steady in the King's favour and in the friendship of Göran Persson.

Such were the principal men by whom Erik was surrounded on mounting the throne. Time will show if he was afterwards able to govern them, or if they governed him.

CHAPTER III.

KING ERIK AND HIS BROTHERS.

KING ERIK received from his father a powerful kingdom, broken into order and obedience ; large forces by sea and land, and an overflowing treasury, all of which might have contributed to make him dreaded both at home and abroad. The nobles though proud of their riches, had been accustomed by the old King to reverence majesty, all else was favourable for Erik ; one thing alone threatened to be dangerous, and that was the grudge which dated from childhood between him and John, and the great power of the younger Princes.

Gustavus by his will had named his younger sons Dukes, John of Finland, Magnus of East Gothland and Dalarna, Charles of Södermanland, Nerike and Wermland. What power they were to possess in their duchies, and in what measure they were to be subordinate to the King, this the will had not explained, and this became the point of dispute.

Erik feared John the most, because he was eldest, the most highly considered, and had the largest duchy.

He immediately therefore despatched a messenger to Finland, who was to get the people to swear allegiance to him. This was to be done with secrecy ; but as it reached John's ears, he on his side despatched another to travel night and day, and outspeed his brother's with peremptory orders to the Governor of Åbo by no means to permit Erik's messenger to fulfil his errand. The King next resolved by gentle means to persuade his brothers to a reasonable adjustment. Swante Sture and Göran Persson treated with them, but they remained immoveable. Erik on his side had not shown himself reasonable, nor even honest by them. Immediately on their father's death, his children had demanded to be put in possession of their inheritance according to the testament, in money, moveables, estates, and duchies. Erik ascribed to himself as large a portion in money and moveables as the rest ; they reminded him that he had solemnly promised his father that the great expenses made for his courtship to England should be deducted from his share in the property ; but he cared neither for his promise, nor the displeasure of his brothers. When the estates were to be divided, he pretended "that King Gustavus had unjustly considered the land taken back from churches and convents as private property. They had been given away by former Kings ; therefore when restored at the perquisition, were to be considered as belonging to the Crown and not to the King, for which reason the royal children could have no right to them by inheritance," and he therefore appropriated these estates to himself.

The duchies yet remained ; and he could find no means to steer clear of these, which were, however, the most dangerous of all for the safety of the King as well as that of the kingdom. Erik took counsel of his confidants in this matter, Swante Sture, Per Brahe, and

Göran Persson. They composed a statuté which precisely defined the authority of the King and the Dukes, and considerably restricted the too great power of the latter; after which a Diet was summoned at Arboga for the 10th of April, when the articles regarding the duchies were read. Per Brahe spoke for the States, and showed how much misrule and mischief might arise if the King did not possess sufficient power within these principalities, and over the Dukes. The truth of this was evident, and the Dukes were obliged to subscribe to the articles, however much it grieved them to do so.

CHAPTER IV.

KING ERIK'S CORONATION.

ERIK'S coronation was first fixed for the 17th of March, 1561. But the treasury was full, Erik young and loving pomp; the preparations were not completed before the 29th of June. Such splendour and magnificence had never been seen in the north before. A new regalia, crown, sceptre, and ball were ordered from Holland, together with which arrived the most sumptuous robes adorned with gold and jewels for himself and his sisters, as well as costly dresses for the whole Court, and many chests full of pearls, galleons, feathers, plate, perfumes, wines, fireworks, and so on. Some foreign Princes arrived; many more were invited. The people streamed thither from every direction, and were plentifully entertained, as well as diverted by shows of lions, camels, and other rare animals, which Erik had written for to increase the festival. The coronation itself was celebrated with all those ceremonials which were at that time customary with other nations.

Erik had determined to introduce the titles of Count and Baron into Sweden; by which means he hoped

to gain the higher nobility, whose relationship with his brothers he could never forget, and partly to diminish in the eyes of the people the wide distance between the Dukes and the nobility. Three Lords were declared Counts at the coronation ; Swante Sture, Per Brahe, and Gustaf Roos ; nine became Barons, among whom we may mention Sten Eriksson Lejonhufwud, Gustaf Eriksson Stenbock with his son Erik, and Klas Christersson Horn. They were likewise gifted with Earldoms and Baronies, though small and without power, or the right of inheritance. As they were dubbed Counts and Barons, the herald proclaimed with a loud voice : “ Let it be known to all, that there is one King in the kingdom of Sweden and Gothaland whom God has given us, and whom we see before our eyes : the most high and puissant Prince and Lord, Erik XIV ; and though several crowns* glitter before your eyes, let none take it as if there were more than one royal crown ; for according to lawful custom, Royal Majesty has permitted each rank, Counts and Barons as well as Dukes to be honoured by their marks of distinction. But the King of Sweden, the Goths and the Vandals is one and no more ! ”

After this a number of gentlemen were dubbed Knights of San Salvadore, an order the King had just instituted. After six days’ entertainment, he set out from Upsala to visit the royal estates on the Mälar, and on the 12th of July held, with not less magnificence, his solemn entry into Stockholm. Thus Erik was now King. It had taken place with great state ; and many believed it would also redound to Sweden’s great profit and advantage.

* The coronets of the three orders of Swedish nobility are called crowns.

CHAPTER V.

WAR IN LIVONIA.

THE knights of Livonia had, by their effeminacy and disunion, become so weakened, that they no longer dared defend themselves against their enemies, of whom Czar Ivan of Russia was the most dangerous. He had with a large army invaded the country, plundering in every direction, and taking one fortress after the other. The Grand Master sought Erik's assistance, either by an alliance against Russia, or by a loan. Erik refused the first, the knights having once before deceived his father by a similar offer ; neither would he lend them the money but on the condition of receiving the Castle of Pernau as security ; this, the Ambassador hesitated to agree to, and therefore returned home.

Their situation being desperate, the Grand Master delivered himself and his whole territory into the hands of the King of Poland, who was, however, without either money or soldiers to assist them. Erik had both, for which the burghers of Reval and the knights in the neighbourhood determined to renounce their allegiance to the Grand Master, and throw themselves in the arms of the Swedish King for protection, one reason for which might have been that Reval was jealous of the commerce of Riga. This was done. Erik accepted their offer, and sent Klas Christersson Horn with some troops to garrison the town and country. A Danish Prince, Magnus, had just at this time bought the islands of Dagö and Ösel, and sought, with the assistance of the King of Denmark, thence to extend his domination on the coast. Thus there were four Princes, Erik of Sweden, Sigismund of Poland, Ivan of Russia, and Magnus of Ösel, who fought and disputed about that unhappy country. They soon divided into two great

parties ; Erik and Ivan on the one side, Sigismund, the King of Denmark and Lübeck on the other. A war was commenced between Sweden and Poland, conducted in Livonia with various success ; it lasted during the whole of Erik's reign, but as these matters are of less moment, we will not delay further on this subject, but shortly relate, that the chief Swedish captains during the two first years were Klas Horn, who made great progress, and afterwards his uncle Henry Horn, who was likewise not without success. This war was the first origin of Sweden's possessions on the other side of the Baltic, but they were the means of drawing her into every European war in which she long gained glory and territory, but wasted her strength, and finally all she before had gained.

CHAPTER VI.

KING ERIK'S COURTSHIP IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND LOTRINGEN.

KING GUSTAVUS's death had broken off Erik's love-journey to England, but by no means the courtship itself. Nils Gyllenstjerna and Beururus were obliged in December to set out for London to announce the obstacle which had occurred. They were immediately followed by Nils Sture, the eldest of Count Swante's sons, to plead Erik's cause, and the King spared neither Ambassadors nor money. The wise Elizabeth remained passive ; she gave Erik neither a positive answer nor rejection ; but meanwhile gained for herself and her country all the profit she could by his pertinacity. This, as is well known, was her policy with the Princes and Lords who contended for her hand. To one of them, the Earl of Arundel, Erik ordered Nils Gyllenstjerna to offer the Princess Cecilia in marriage, if he

would forward the King's cause with Elizabeth. We do not know the Earl's answer to the proposal; but it is said that Erik, at the same time, offered the same Princess to the Polish Count Teczyn, if he would forward similar views at the Court of Poland.

Erik determined on again setting out for England in person. A safe conduct was obtained, a well equipped fleet of fourteen vessels lay off Elfsborg, where he arrived in company with his brother Duke Charles, and Counts Brahe and Roos, all equipped in the costliest manner. On the 1st of September, 1561, they embarked and sailed; but on the very next day, off Cape Skagen, they were attacked by a violent storm, so that they turned, and on the second sailed back into Gottenburgh. Erik said that it was Brahe and Roos who had commanded the ships to be put about; but they affirmed that it was done at his own order, who could not endure the violent movement. The dispute dropped; but Erik determined not again to try the sea, but go as far as he could by land. He therefore demanded a safe conduct through Denmark, which caused another delay.

France and England at this time not being on the most friendly terms, the former seeking by every possible means to diminish the power of the latter; when Mornay was in France on some errand, it was gradually hinted to him to turn Erik's thoughts towards the Widow-Queen of France, Mary Stuart, the heiress of Scotland. On Mornay's return he spoke on the subject to Erik, who at the first does not seem to have paid much heed to it; but after his unlucky sea voyage, he sent a message to Scotland to hear how matters stood; and the following year in March, he corresponded with the King of France on this negotiation, so that Erik was now courting two Queens. Elizabeth, however, appears to have become more and more averse to him,

and Nils Gyllenstjerna informed him that the chief obstacle in his way was the young and handsome Earl of Leicester. Erik was seized with the most violent jealousy of him ; he first challenged him to single combat, but as this could not be put in execution, ordered Nils Gyllenstjerna to hire an assassin in London, promising safety and a rich reward in Sweden to the murderer, but threatening Gyllenstjerna with his displeasure if he did not execute these injunctions. This letter Erik wrote three weeks after he had begun his courtship to Mary Stuart. Gyllenstjerna refused to undertake such a villany, and Erik probably himself repented, for the former remained in as great favour after his return as before.

Erik spread a report in England that he had undertaken the courtship of the Scottish Queen, merely to frighten Elizabeth into giving him a speedy affirmative. It had, however, the contrary effect. She gave him both a speedy and positive negative ; after which Gyllenstjerna at last was permitted to return home from his dilatory embassy, and all seemed to be at an end.

When Erik had received Elizabeth's formal refusal, he immediately sent a numerous legation to Edinburgh, headed by Per Brahe and Charles de Mornay, to sue in his name for Mary Stuart.

But meanwhile he heard the Princess Renata of Lotringen spoken of ; she was extolled both for her beauty and good qualities, and was besides the grand-daughter of Christian the Tyrant, and heiress of his pretensions to Denmark and Norway. This struck Erik as something good ; and some weeks after Brahe's departure for Scotland, he sent a secret message to the Emperor, and commenced negotiations for this Princess.

This embassy had scarcely set out ere Nils Gyllenstjerna came home ; Elizabeth had pretended almost to repent her refusal, and at his departure had expressed

her vexation that the matter had thus ended. When this was related to Erik, he again took fire, presented the matter before the Senate, once more received their consent, and Nils Gyllenstjerna, who had scarce been one month in Sweden, was obliged to set out for England again. In this manner King Erik had at the same moment Ambassadors proposing for Elizabeth in England, Mary Stuart in Scotland, and Renata in Lotringen. He however reflected on the matter twice, and ordered Gyllenstjerna back from Elfsborg, when the whole courtship with England seemed once more to be at an end.

Favourable answers arrived both from Scotland and Lotringen; but Erik during the time had changed his mind, and determined to propose for the Princess Christina of Hesse, for which reason he cared no more about either Renata or Mary Stuart. Meanwhile he had on these threefold courtships wasted uncountable sums of money, and what was of more importance, his own reputation.

CHAPTER VII.

DUKE JOHN'S MARRIAGE.

As we have before related, a marriage between Duke John and Princess Catherine, sister of King Sigismund II. of Poland had been talked of and proposed during the life time of the old King. The Polish Count Teczin arrived on this embassy at Stockholm shortly after Erik's coronation. His errand was to seek to settle the disputes about Livonia, confirm the treaty by the Duke's marriage with the Princess Catherine, and gain Cecilia for himself as we before have seen. The negociations went but slowly. Erik foresaw that for the sake of Livonia, he would soon be engaged in

open war with Poland, and therefore contemplated with repugnance his brother's connexion with that enemy. However he gave his consent at last. Another obstacle then presented itself, which was that King Sigismund would not agree to give his younger sister away in marriage, before Anna the elder; but Duke John and Count Teczin proposing that Duke Magnus of East Gothland should marry Anna, all impediments seemed to be removed.

An event now took place which can give an idea of the manners of the times among those rude nations. The Czar of Russia had also proposed for Catherine; but as he could not agree with Sigismund regarding the marriage contract, he received a refusal. Poles and Russians have ever hated each other; the former to show their contempt of the latter, now sent instead of the desired bride, a white figure, adorned in a splendid female dress. The Czar, mad with rage, invaded and cruelly ravaged Poland; and from that hour bore a constant hatred to Catherine's family, and John his more fortunate rival.

Erik had already given his consent to John's courtship, and even written letters recommending him at the Court of Poland; but to come to favourable terms with Sigismund seemed impossible. He repented, and wrote again to John dissuading him from it, and offering to let Per Brahe go to court Mary Stuart for him. But John held faithful to his Catherine, and received a renewed consent. He however soon perceived that war was inevitable between his brother and Sigismund, in which case it would be too late to think of this marriage, for which reason he crossed over to Dantzic to celebrate it at once. Scarce however did Erik hear this, ere he sent an express after John, withdrawing his consent, and ordering his brother back. John was

alarmed; he was besides displeased with King Sigismund, whose messengers were making inquiries for Magnus, and speaking of Anna being older than Catherine; he therefore resolved to obey, and had already gone on board with this intention, when a new messenger arrived from Sigismund, bringing more agreeable tidings, he re-landed and journeyed into the interior of Poland without heeding Erik's envoy. Arrived at the Polish Court, he won great favour in the eyes of all, being a handsome, courteous, and learned cavalier, and the Princess herself seemed much struck by her royal lover. The Polish King, however, continued to insist that he should marry the elder sister; many sought vainly to dissuade Sigismund, till at last addressing himself to both Princesses, he asked Catherine if she really desired a marriage with John? She blushed deeply, but remaining silent, Princess Anna answered for her, spoke of her sister's affection, and implored her brother to relent. He did so—it was time. The war with Sweden was ready to break out. No guests were invited; the marriage was celebrated without delay and without pomp in Wilna on the 4th of October 1562. Many attempts have been made to ascertain the conditions of the contract; they were kept secret, and have ever since remained so. All that is known is, that John permitted Catherine's dower, which was thirty-two thousand guldens, her maternal inheritance which was fifty thousand ducats more to remain unpaid, and that he finally, on receiving some fortresses in Livonia as pledges, lent his brother-in-law a hundred and twenty-five thousand thalers in hard silver. He then hastened away with his bride. A considerable body of Polish troops escorted them into Livonia, for they feared that the angry Czar might fall on them by the way, and carry them off. John was but very ill-received in this

province by Erik's orders ; he hastened to leave it, and landed at Åbo on the 4th of December, whence he immediately sent to invite the King to his wedding banquet. But another feast was awaiting him.

CHAPTER VIII.

DUKE JOHN THROWN INTO PRISON.

THE old enmity of these two brothers had been not a little increased by the dispute about the Duchies and the inheritance ; they feared each other mutually. Erik however most, for he read in the stars that a light-haired man would deprive him of his throne, and this he thought applied to his brother. The suspicions which this unhappy King did not think of himself, were carefully instilled into his mind by the pernicious Göran Persson, and these as regarded John seemed now to turn to certainty. Henrik Horn and Herman Fleming both sent information, the first from Finland, the second from Livonia, that the connexion with Poland seemed to be directed against Erik ; and a Danish song openly mentioned him as the future ally of Denmark. A Danish Ambassador had been one of the few guests at John's marriage, for which reason Erik feared that he had then entered into an alliance with the enemies of the kingdom, and placed his money in Poland that he might be able to raise and employ it as he should find convenient. It is difficult to ascertain the truth of this, for if John really had entertained any traitorous intentions, he was cunning enough to conceal the proofs of it ; but the great loan he had made to the enemies of his country just before the breaking out of the war, and his marriage precisely contrary to Erik's commands, give reason to believe the suspicions against him were not wholly groundless.

John however was soon driven to extremities, and forced to disclose his real sentiments by hearing that Erik seriously resented and intended to punish his conduct; when the Fins at Hinder's-mass were assembled at Åbo, he therefore made them a long and violent speech against his brother, laying the harshest imputations to his charge, the greater part of which were false. For instance, "that Erik had proposed for, and been refused by Catherine, which was the reason he was so irritated against her and himself. Erik had no right to Livonia, which belonged to the King of Poland. Erik despised his experienced Senators, and only took council of chimney-sweepers and tailors; that the Russians the following summer were to make a harassing invasion into Finland, as Erik had needlessly angered them. That he had made so many enemies, that he could neither defend himself nor the Finns. "Therefore," continued the Duke, "I have sought a powerful marriage in Poland that I may help my unhappy country." He finally begged "the honest Finns to lend him good assistance, against Erik's injustice and violence; it would be best for them all." The Finns who believed every word that he spoke, shouted a loud assent to his demands, swore him fresh allegiance, and confirmed it by writing. From this moment he made preparations for resistance. The Castle of Åbo was fortified and supplied with men and provisions; aid was demanded from Poland, and every stratagem invented to increase the number and courage of John's partisans. When the misunderstanding between the brothers increased, Count Swante Sture had written to his son Erik, then at John's Court, desiring him to give up the Duke's service and return home. The letter fell into John's hands, who read and retained it; but still suspecting Erik Sture of wishing to return to

Sweden, he caused his steps to be watched, so that even against his will, he was detained at Åbo till it was taken.

The King now saw what he had to expect, and returned force by force. Witnesses against John were every where sought for; many of his servants were accused by George Persson, and examined often by torture. One of their number a young man named Johan Bertisson Hästsko, having been long tormented, at last confessed "that John's intentions were to remove Erik from the throne;" the States were summoned to meet in Stockholm in the month of June, when Erik accused his brother in person. The thing was clear. John was condemned "as guilty of high treason to lose his life and estates, unless Erik by particular favour and grace should please to show him some mercy." The same sentence was passed on his partisans. Those whom they had already in their power were carried out to the Södermalm and beheaded. When the young Johan Hästsko was led out, he loudly exclaimed "that he had born false witness against the Duke, to which insufferable pain had compelled him." It was of no avail, he was beheaded and impaled with the rest.

As soon as the judgment pronounced by the States was signed, Hogenskild Bjelkewas despatched with it to Åbo. He was accompanied by Anders Sigfridson Rålamb, and Jacob Henrikson Hästsko with a considerable force. Herr Hogenskild, in the King's name, then offered the Duke, that if he would surrender without resistance his life should be spared, though he would be kept in perpetual imprisonment. John preferred to defend himself, and did so valiantly. The siege lasted two months, but on the 12th of August they were obliged to give in. John had demanded succour from Poland and Russia. The latter commenced arming a fleet for

the purpose, but too slowly; as they were putting to sea the news arrived that John was taken.

It is said that when the expedition set out for Finland, the King ennobled Anders Nilsson Sabelfarna, and at the same time gave him secret instructions to make away with John during the siege; consequently as Hogenskild Bjelke, accompanied by several gentlemen, entered the Duke's room after the surrender of the Castle, it is said that this Anders Nilsson sprang forward with a drawn dagger to stab him, but that Klas Boje knocked him aside and saved the Duke.

The Duke and Duchess with their suite after their capture were put on board Erik's vessels and carried over to Sweden. At Wexholm they were met by Göran Persson and some other envoys, who mounted the Duke's vessel. Göran made him a long discourse on his criminal conduct and the reasons of his condemnation. John at last got angry, and exclaimed: "My cause should be adjudged by Emperors, Kings and Princes, and not by you, you priest-bastard!" Göran however answered that he was already sufficiently judged, and a prisoner at the King's mercy, so that no one else could help him. It was the King's order that he should be shut up in Gripsholm with one servant only to attend him. His people were then dismissed, and Göran commenced preparations for his imprisonment. When John saw this he burst into tears, and cursed Henrick Horn and Herman Fleming for having betrayed him, and asked Göran Persson if he was come to take his life now or later. To this he would give no answer, but asked to be conducted to the Duchess. On entering her cabin, Göran offered her two conditions in Erik's name: she with her ladies were to be provided for in a suitable manner, and live at one of the King's Castles, if she desired it; but if she wished to accom-

pany her husband, she was allowed to take but two maids along with her to prison. When Catherine heard this, she exclaimed, "that she would rather die than be separated from the Duke!" and fainted away. When she was restored, Göran asked her what she had determined. She then drew the ring of her betrothal off her finger, held it up towards Göran, saying: "Read what stands there!" Göran then read what was engraved within it: "*Nemo nisi mors,*" *None but Death*, "I will remain by it," said Catherine, and she did so.

Göran Persson now caused the boxes in which the royal pair had carried their jewels to be removed, and they were themselves placed on board a yacht which sailed to Gripsholm. As they were to pass through the Söderström, the Duke was forced to sit on deck, that he might be seen by the countless multitudes which crowded both banks. This was done to contradict a report which had been spread that he had escaped, and that the prisoner was a pretended Duke John. At this place Göran Persson came on board again; he had heard that the Duke had concealed some valuables among the provisions; a second search was made, some jewel-boxes were found and removed, and this before the eyes of the people. Close to Stockholm, John saw on the high rocks of the southern bank the wheels to which the unfortunate Johan Hästsko and his companions were nailed. "See there," he exclaimed, "my faithful friends!" Tears streamed from his eyes, and he turned from the sorrowful sight. As soon as he arrived at Gripsholm, Göran Persson followed to prepare for his imprisonment. The floor was laid with thick planks; new and massive iron bars were placed at the windows, after which the royal pair were incarcerated.

John's imprisoned dependants were accused by

Göran Persson before the highest Court of Justice; some had belonged to his privy council, others had spoken disparagingly of the King: all had borne their share in the rebellion. They were thus almost all of them condemned to death and executed. The inhabitants of Stockholm shuddered at the sight of these cruel executions; it is said that more than a hundred bodies were seen exposed on the rocks of the Södermaln.

Meanwhile every one was in expectation of what John's fate would be. During these frightful scenes, Erik had kept himself at a distance, and on the Danish frontier occupied himself with preparations for war. John's brothers sisters and all his relatives addressed the most earnest prayers to Erik for the prisoner's being reprieved at all events from the sentence of death; but he returned constant refusals, he seemed immovable. In his own mind he was however undetermined. Göran Persson eagerly advised the Duke's death, a council which coincided with Erik's dread and hatred. Charles de Mornay, on the other hand, argued that his death would make enemies of all his kin, and sully the King's reputation. Erik hesitated and postponed from time to time: at last he decided that John should live, but in perpetual imprisonment. He was mildly treated; his prison, as far as the notions of comfort of those days extended, was well provided, and had a pleasant and free prospect over the beautiful bay of Gripsholm. The prisoners were allowed books, pens, ink, and wine, in a word all they required for their health and shortening of their time. The Duchess sometimes, though accompanied by a guard, was permitted to walk in the Castle gardens; the Duke was obliged to keep his room. Thus four years passed away.

CHAPTER IX.

DUKE MAGNUS BECOMES INSANE.

WHEN the death-warrant for Duke John had been made out, the signature of Duke Magnus was necessary for its completion ; and though weak and wavering of character, it proved a most arduous undertaking to persuade him. Göran Persson, Hogenskild Bjelke and Dionysius Beurreus travelled to and fro on this commission ; they flattered and caressed the weak Prince ; Erik at the Diet caused the order of succession to be removed from John to Magnus ; he appointed a rich and magnificent Court for him, and flattered him with the hope of the lovely Mary Stuart, to whom several embassages were sent on this account. Thus seduced and stormed on every side, Magnus finally gave way ; but from that day forward never enjoyed a happy hour. He was consumed by continual remorse, and looked on himself as a fratricide. His mind was unequal to these tortures, they made him at last quite insane. During this time he lived at Kongsbro in East Gothland, where the Motala River falls into Lake Roxen. There he often fancied he saw the fair water-nymph raise herself from the waves, and begin a song so sweet that he is said to have thrown himself from the lofty turret into the midst of the Lake. He was fortunately uninjured, and his guardians got him up again. This incident has given rise to a song which has been sung all over Sweden ; its version, however, says, that the water nymph had frenzied Magnus by her sorcery, as a punishment for his not choosing to dwell with her. Another reason was given by the Jesuit Possevinus who was in Sweden at a later period. He affirmed that Magnus had been struck with madness because he attempted to drive out the nuns from the Convent

of Wadstena. However, the unfortunate Prince remained in this lamentable condition the rest of his life, or forty-two years more. His death did not occur till 1605. He was buried in the Church of Wadstena.

CHAPTER X.

THE COURTSHIP IN HESSEN.

ON the 24th of August, 1562, Erik sent his first proposal to the Landgrave of Hesse to sue for his daughter. He received a favourable reply, and the bride was to arrive in the following May. In February 1563, Sten Eriksson Lejonhufwud and other men of importance were despatched on this same errand ; they had not demanded a safe conduct of the Danish King, but there was peace between the two countries, and the Danish Ambassador in Stockholm assured them that none was requisite. Arrived at Copenhagen, they received orders to await King Fredrick's passport to admit of their pursuing their journey through his dominions. They waited long, day by day deceived by fruitless promises ; at last Sir Sten lost patience, and determining to proceed without it, mounted with his men and rode towards the toll ; the guards shut the gates, and with their drawn swords precluded further advance. Herr Sten in his haste drew out his pistols and threatened the guard, but bethinking himself, replaced them at his saddle-bow. He and his companions were carried to prison, where they remained upwards of two years. King Fredrick complained of their conduct, Erik complained of Fredrick ; thus matters continued till the war broke out. It was evident that the whole was a ruse of Fredrick to prevent the marriage with the Princess of Hesse.

The month of May was now at hand, the time at

which the promised bride was to arrive. Erik equipped a fleet of twelve men of war, but equipped it in a way that it could fight if requisite. James Bagge was the Admiral of the Elephant, Per Banér the Vice-Admiral of the Swan. This fleet was said to be destined to bring the bride over from Lübeck, but Bagge had received secret orders to seek for and attack the Danish fleet. On the 24th of May, he sailed from the Skares of Stockholm; on the 30th, off Bornholm, he perceived the whole Danish fleet before him, of which Joachim Brockenhausen of the ship Hercules was Admiral. As the fleets approached, Brockenhausen discharged some shots against the Swedes, which Bagge returned without delay; and at the third discharge the mainmast of the Hercules fell overboard. This was the prelude of a violent combat which lasted five hours, when the Danes fled. The Hercules and two other vessels were captured; two more lost their captains and were so crippled by shot that it was with difficulty they escaped. The Swedes suffered but small loss; they sailed on with their captures to Lübeck, where the Ambassadors landed to pursue their journey to Hesse, and where the Swedish fleet was to await their return with the bride. During this time several Danish vessels sailed to and from Lübeck; but Bagge let them freely pass, he was not sent, he said, to attack Denmark, he had only fought at Bornholm to defend himself. In this manner Erik and his Admiral sought to cast the whole weight of the infringement of the peace upon King Fredrick. After a delay of fourteen days, the Ambassadors returned, but without the bride; the excuse was that her trousseau was not ready. The real cause was that the Landgrave did not dare to send her to the turbulent North. Bagge then returned to Stockholm, and arrived amidst the Skares on the feast of St. John. Some

days after Erik allowed him a triumphal entry. James Bagge walked first wearing a gold chain; afterwards the other Swedish commanders in magnificent armour, accompanied by the flags taken in battle. The prisoners followed, their heads shaved, and bearing white wands in their hands. Admiral Joachim Brockenhausen first, then seven Danish nobles, among whom Otto Krumpe was recognised, who in 1520 had led the armies of Christian the Tyrant, and was now a feeble old man. After these the common prisoners to the number of six hundred, chained two and two; they were preceded by King Erik's buffoon, named Hercules, playing the violin; at their side and behind them, the Swedish troops. The procession crossed through the town to the Castle, and was all of Erik's arrangement.

This delayed the completion of the treaty of marriage, but did not break it off; the Landgrave demanded of King Fredrick a safe warrant for the Princess to travel through Denmark, but was refused. He asked the same for his Ambassadors, but was again refused; Denmark dreaded this union. Erik meanwhile urged Nils Gyllenstjerna and George Gere, who were in Germany, to proceed to Hesse; they were to carry a betrothal ring to the Princess, worth six thousand thalers. Erik issued this command on the 11th of October, and four days after he wrote a letter to Elizabeth of England, in which he said he had never been serious in his addresses at the court of Hesse; dreading, however, lest this letter should be discovered, it was concealed in a stick, and despatched by a secret messenger. The war with Denmark had already broken out; a privateer captured the Ambassador in the North Sea and carried him to Copenhagen; the letter was unluckily found, no one knows how; however, it was no small joy to the Danish King, who despatched it immediately to the Landgrave.

Nils Gyllenstjerna and George Gere had meanwhile been well received, and matters were going on well, when the Danish Ambassador unexpectedly arrived with Erik's unlucky letter. The Landgrave, highly indignant at seeing himself and his daughter thus made sport of, ordered the Swedish Ambassadors to leave the town before sunset.

Spite of all this Erik still imagined he could obtain the deceived Princess; and in 1565 sent his Ambassadors on the same errand, who were turned away with contempt. This Christina was afterwards married to the Duke of Holstein, and was by him the mother of Christina who was married to Charles IX. She was thus grandmother of Gustavus II Adolphus, great grand-mother of Queen Christina, and ancestress of Charles X, XI, and XII.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DANISH WAR.

OLD grudge and young Kings, this was the real cause of the war between Sweden and Denmark. Gustavus I. and Christian III. both loved peace, but had difficulty in preserving it; their sons proud and inexperienced, thought it against their dignity to seek for peace on reasonable conditions. The peace was to be degrading for the one party, and the other was to remain satisfied with it: such were the terms on which they treated for several years. The first matter of strife was the Swedish arms which Denmark had adopted, regarding which Erik made vain representations; Fredrick retained them: "he had inherited that shield from his father," he said. "It was a memento of the time when the three kingdoms were united." In 1561, Erik retaliated by introducing the Danish and Norwegian

arms into his shield. Fredrick complained in his turn ; but Erik answered that “ the three lions were not the arms of Denmark, but those of Reval, which now belonged to Sweden. The Norwegian arms were introduced in memory of Magnus Eriksson and Karl Knutsson’s days, when Sweden and Norway were one.” Neither would give way, and to this subject of discord manifold others were added regarding Gothland, Skåne, Halland, Bleking and Livonia, the imprisonment of the envoys in Copenhagen, and lastly, the battle of Bornholm. Of this last Fredrick said that Brockenhausen had intended only to fire the Danish salute, but that the guns by mistake had been pointed against Bagge. It was false. Erik said that he desired peace but had been attacked at Bornholm, which was also false ; if Brockenhausen had not made the attack, Bagge would have done so. After some vain discussions, heralds arrived from Denmark and Lübeck to declare war. The Danish herald was received at the Castle. From the High Church he was conducted by two noblemen through a double file of soldiers to the Hall of State, where the King was seated on his throne, and the nobles stood around him in magnificent armour. This so disturbed the man, that he was unable to utter a syllable. Erik encouraged him by word and look, after which he read his declaration of war. When he had concluded, Erik spoke, and in a clear and powerful speech refuted the reasons of the Danish monarch ; on which the herald was conducted back again. That from Lübeck was not permitted to present himself before the King, as he was but the deputy of a parcel of traders. He was taken up to the Town-house, where before the Burgomaster and Aldermen, he had to read his declaration of war. After this it broke out with so much the greater violence, as both Kings and their people hated each other. Low

pasquinades were published on both sides ; one against Fredrick is still extant, to which an engraving is added, intended to turn his coat of arms into ridicule. It contains, for instance, three fools-caps, instead of the three Swedish crowns ; three foxes instead of three leopards ; an ape with a wooden sword, instead of the Norwegian lion with the halberd ; a goose hung in a rope instead of the swan, the arms of Stormarn and so on ; and in the book itself Fredrick is called Fredbrecht, or Breakpeace the Second.

The war on shore was conducted with unequal success. At the very commencement, Fredrick got possession of the strong fortress of Elfsborg by the cowardice of its commandant Erik Kagg. Erik afterwards ravaged Halland and besieged Halmstad without success ; but the campaigns of this and the following year consisted chiefly in mutual ravages. The Swedes and Danes invaded each other's frontiers, and retired as soon as an enemy approached ; the main armies never met. Daniel Rantzow distinguished himself on the side of the Danes as a brave and prudent leader. Among the Swedes Klas Horn, Charles de Mornay, Åke Bengtsson Färila, Lars of Skara and Nils Silverparre.

CHAPTER XII.

JAMES BAGGE'S END.

As soon as the war was declared, the Swedish fleet was equipped afresh ; James Bagge was again appointed Admiral, and put to sea on the 4th of August. On the 11th of the same month he met the Danish and Lübeck fleets together off Öland. The Admiral commanding the whole was the old Peter Skram, the same who in the last reign, in unison with Erik Fleming, had beaten the fleet

of Lübeck. James Bagge was sixty-three ; Peter Skram more than seventy years old, but both active and eager as youths. The battle lasted the whole day, but without any particular loss ; towards evening Bagge sought to retreat within the Skares, but was eagerly followed ; he therefore turned and received the Danish Admiral so valiantly, that his ship was materially damaged, and the Vice-Admiral, Francis Bille, shot. When darkness separated the ships, neither side could vaunt of having gained the victory ; the Swedes retired to Elfsnabb : the Danes to Gothland.

James Bagge now demanded permission to go into winter quarters and repair ; but this request was so ill received by Erik, that he accused him in no measured terms of cowardice and laziness, and even ordered that he should make a degrading entry into Stockholm ; he was to be received with mockery and contempt, drawn in on caufs and other flat-bottomed vessels. He was, however, dissuaded from this intention.

On the 28th May, 1564, the fleet again sailed under James Bagge. He had now received a new admiral-vessel called, "Mars the Dane-hater." She was also named the "Matchless," for anything like her had never been seen on the Baltic ; she carried two hundred cannons, the greater part cast from the bells taken in King Gustavus' time. Just beyond the Skares they encountered a violent storm which scattered the ships, and Bagge had but few in his company, when on the 30th May he fell upon the united fleets of Denmark and Lübeck. More bold than prudent, he did not, however, retreat. The Danish Admiral, Herløf Trolle, with his vessel, named the Fortuna, fired on the Matchless, but received such an answer, that she soon lost her rudder, and was obliged to withdraw behind the rest. The firing continued all day ; towards evening

one of the Lübeck vessels was so disabled, that at sunset she suddenly sunk with every soul on board, excepting a few men who saved themselves in the boat.

Night and calm followed. The battle ceased, and the Swedish fleet collected; but in the morning it again blew fresh, and as the sun arose, James Bagge saw the two adverse fleets in the best order, while his own vessels were once more scattered far and wide; only two, the Swan and the Elephant, remained in company with the Matchless, the rest held off. But James Bagge did not fly. He gave orders to his men to keep themselves ready, and between five and six in the morning the battle began. The whole forenoon the firing continued without much effect; towards evening the wind changed so as to bring the Lübeck vessels in contact with the Matchless, which was surrounded. On one side lay two Lübeckers, one of which was the flag ship; on the other two Danes, the flag ship Fortuna, and the "Angry Lion." The Swan and the Elephant then fled; James Bagge and the Matchless remained alone; but he bravely defended himself; the enemy trying to rush in on the Matchless, were kept back by swords and boat-hooks. The Fortuna was now compelled to steer off, being so crippled that the water rose several feet in her hold; after which the Angry Lion was also obliged to retire, for her sides were beaten in. When it seemed impossible to succeed in boarding the Matchless, the Lübeckers climbed up their masts, and thence threw lances on their deck a lance grazed James Bagge's ear, who then called for some fire-locks, and shot upon those who were casting so effectively that one after the other fell like dead birds from the masts, and none dared to mount in their stead. Meanwhile Otto Rud and George Brahe with

two fresh Danish vessels arrived in the place of the *Fortuna* and the *Angry Lion*, threw their grappling irons on board the *Matchless*, and held themselves fast. Otto Rud and several of his men boarded her, and a desperate strife ensued. Eshjörn, the quarter-master of the *Matchless*, had been the whole day so possessed by fear, that he was incapable of service; he now became so bewildered and desperate by the increasing noise and approaching danger, that he leapt up, fired off a cannon, laid himself upon the powder-room, and made away with himself. One of the cannons on the *Matchless* burst, and the fire broke out, which, increased by the fire-balls of the Lübeckers, speedily approached the powder. When James Bagge heard this, and that the ship could no longer be defended, he surrendered himself a prisoner, and with a part of the ship's company was taken on board one of the Lübeck vessels. The Lübeckers rushed in great numbers on the *Matchless* to plunder; but they were hardly on board before the fire reached the powder-room. With a dreadful explosion the fore-mast sped like an arrow through the air; the *Matchless* burst asunder and sunk in the waves, having three hundred Lübeckers and their admiral, eight hundred Swedes, and finally the two hundred cannons on board. When this was related in Sweden, the old Catholics crossed themselves, saying, "It was a visible punishment from God for the sacrilege King Gustavus had committed. There was no blessing on the bells stolen from God's house."

King Erik commanded that a strict enquiry should be held upon the captains of the other vessels who had so shamefully abandoned their Admiral; but they brought forward all manner of excuses, and remained unpunished. The Danes on their side rejoiced at their victory, particularly at having got the redoubtable

James Bagge a prisoner. He was carried to Copenhagen where he tried to frighten his victors by mighty and exaggerated accounts of King Erik's power; "but," added the old scaman, "henceforward there will be little to dread from the Swedish marine." Erik wanted to ransom Bagge, but was refused; he was doomed to a perpetual imprisonment. A letter from him is still extant which he wrote to his wife. In simple but hearty words, he consoles his "dear Anna, commends to her the education of their children, that they might be kept in discipline and learning—it was his dearest remaining wish." Nothing more is known of him, neither where nor how he died. The fame of his life has made up for it.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF KING ERIK.

KING ERIK XIV was in height somewhat shorter than his father; perfectly well formed, and perhaps handsomer. He had light air, arched eyebrows, large blue eyes, a roman nose, beautiful mouth, his skin fair and fresh, mustachios and beard auburn, the latter divided into two points, and six inches long. In suppleness, strength, and agility in all manner of bodily exercises he had not his equal.

He had a good memory and good understanding; to this his uncommon learning and many excellent ordinances, especially in the beginning of his reign, bear witness. He laboured for the opening of high roads, and founded the first regular high-way inns. For the distribution of justice he established in Stockholm a perpetual superior Court, called "*The King's Highest named,*" where all capital causes or appealed trials were to be decided. This court was often abused by Göran

Persson, for which reason, and through hatred to Erik, John annulled it; but Gustaf Adolf afterwards established the superior Courts of Justice, (*Hofrätterna*) on the same principle as those of King Erik's "Highest." The duty of the nobles to arm had been much neglected during the end of the late reign; Erik permitted a nobleman to retain one, a Baron two, a Count three free estates. Every estate beyond this number was taxed to furnish troopers. He founded armouries, docks, and powder mills for the army and navy. For his captains, both in peace and war, he, with his own hand, made out directions generally profound, but binding his commanders by too much attention to trifles. In latter years his extraordinary temper increased more and more, and often attained to a degree of violence more resembling madness, which darkened his understanding and destroyed his happiness.

He was a lover of pomp and magnificence. We have spoken of his triumphal procession, his gorgeous coronation, and the new regalias which were bought for it. Gustavus was called "His Grace," Erik introduced the title of Majesty. His proverb was *Magnos magna decet*, "Greatness suits the great." Göran Persson sought to put some restraint on his extravagance, but in vain; from the Court the taste spread first in Stockholm, then in the country to the grief of the old, the seduction of the young, and the ruin of all. John III attempted, but Charles IX partly succeeded to restore the former frugality. Levity of morals accompanied this luxury; Erik's life was in this respect in the highest degree scandalous. Agda, the daughter of a citizen of Stockholm, called Caritas on account of her beauty, was his acknowledged mistress in the beginning, and was the mother of two of his children; afterwards he was in this as changeable as in his courtships. This

gave rise to general indignation, and the Archbishop, old Laurentius, warned him not once but several times, though in vain.

He was suspected of having, through his tutor Beur-reus, acquired a taste for calvinistical doctrines; if so, they had no influence on his Government. Both in his faith and his actions his piety was weaker than his father's; his superstition so much the stronger, especially as regarded the stars. A day scarcely passed in which he did not note the positions of the planets in his diary.

He was suspicious in the highest degree; those who had to deal with him had to act with the greatest circumspection; no one was permitted to whisper, to spit, or to laugh in his presence, or he instantly fancied that it regarded him. If even a straw or anything of the kind lay in his path he was displeased, and accounted it either as a bad omen or an intentional affront. If any one made himself remarkable by his dress, he was suspected on account of the ladies. When his treaties for foreign Princesses failed of success, Göran Persson persuaded him that it was through the plots of the nobles, who wished to force him to choose one of their daughters. When he got angry himself he thought it was caused by the machinations of his sisters. At last he went so far as in 1566 to place perpetual spies in the chief houses in Stockholm.

Erik was passionate as his father had been; but Gustavus seldom acted with precipitancy. Erik almost always; and then he stopped at neither meanness nor cruelty. We have mentioned his designs against Duke John and the Earl of Leicester; it was a common means with him to hire assassins to make away with those he could not otherwise get rid of. His subjects were condemned for small faults to hard punishments.

Traders who did not furnish the supplies they had taken in hand to deliver were condemned to the mines; hanging and quartering his stewards was a very common occurrence. Erik's heart, however, was perhaps better than his actions, we seldom find him committing any long projected cruelty. His occasionally disordered mind may serve as an excuse. We sometimes find notified in his diary: "At such or such a time I committed a fault in violent passion." We find that he repented and took "remedies against melancholy." In his later madness, he said that "in his anger he was tempted by the evil spirit Headless."

Erik's falling into the hands of Göran Persson was a great misfortune. He certainly bore a large share in the good regulations which marked the commencement of his reign, but still more in its unhappy termination. Göran had an immeasurable ambition for power and money, and therefore hated the nobility who possessed both. This mutual hatred bound him to the King; the power of the Dukes was the first to be diminished, which was done by the restrictions at Arboga, and the new dignities of Count and Baron. The nobility were next to be quelled, in which intention the King caressed the baser sort. When he went out he nodded in a familiar way to every old woman in the street, and bid them aloud, "God speed, good friends." He gave as little as possible of his confidence and appointments to the nobility; the orders beneath them received enough of both that and his money which he lavished upon them. The nobility seeing this, retired from Court and called Erik among themselves a "Peasant-king." At last it was determined in Upsala, in 1567, that the chief Lords should fall, Göran Persson appropriate their money and estates, and Erik be henceforward relieved from dread of their caballing against him; but we shall

presently see that his soul was not sufficiently hardened for the cruelty which was requisite for carrying through this plot.

The King was once standing leaning his head upon his hand, musing profoundly. "My late father," he said, "provided me with difficult days, when he founded the Duchies." Göran Persson replied: "Yes, but the late King wanted to make his sons powerful that the Senate might not usurp the rudder of Government, and the land at last fall into the hand of foreign Princes. The kingdom might subsist, spite of disputes in the royal family; but by an aristocracy it would be turned upside down, or devolve to the sway of foreign Kings. However, I believe that the preference the late King bore to Duke John before your Majesty was the chief origin of the Duchies which seem now to be almost innoxious by the decree of Arboga." After a short pause the King answered: "The Swedes will throw themselves into the arms of strangers before they will endure the authority of a plurality of masters. One God and one King is their watchword. I see by it all, that *the Church must stand in the midst of the village*,* that there must be a medium held between the Dukes, the Lords, and the lower orders, and that none of them overlook me." Göran said, "Gracious Sir, of these the Dukes and nobles alone are dangerous." "Ay, the present," was the King's reply.

On another occasion when Göran was haranguing too violently against the nobles, the King said angrily: "You would decoy me to drive them all out, and take you and yours in their stead; but should the toad come to power she would swell. We shall know how to keep you all in bounds, that none of you, high or low, get the upper hand, for then we would presently be in the power of the very devil."

* A Swedish proverb.

Erik saw what he ought to do, but wanted the strength to perform; the longer he listened to, the more he heeded the bad counsellors within his own breast and at his Court. His evil inclinations and Göran Persson did gain the upper hand at last, and it went with him as he himself had prophesied.

CHAPTER XIV.

KARIN MANSDOTTER.

THE son of a peasant of Medelpad of the name of Magnus, first a soldier, then a corporal in Erik's life-guard, had a daughter named Katrina, or shorter Karin, who when yet a child sat in the market-place selling nuts, by which she gained her subsistence. Erik passed one day, and remarking the extraordinary beauty of the girl, then about thirteen, had her received among the maids of honour of his sister Elizabeth. The little Karin learnt with facility all that was taught her; and distinguished herself for her modest, and in every way, loveable deportment. Her beauty too, increased day by day, and though the paintings we still have of her, probably through the incapacity of the artists, are not at all striking in this respect, the authors of her time, even Erik's enemies, join in extolling her as the fairest of the fair. Erik was of the same opinion; his heart grew more and more attached to her; he availed himself of every opportunity of showing her attention, and this had the readier influence on her, as he was handsome, and when he pleased, engaging. Ravished by the distinction thus bestowed, still more by her love, she gave herself up entirely to Erik, and a sincere and mutual affection united them. Erik abandoned his other mistresses; Karin became everything to him; his

suits at foreign courts were dropped ; and when she bore a son, Erik determined, in his own mind, to find an opportunity of making her his Queen.

An ensign of the name of Maximilian had also been captivated by her beauty, and proposed for her after she came to Court ; some say that they were already affianced. He was afterwards obliged to give way to the royal lover, and commanded to join the army in Norway. The unfortunate young man could not make up his mind to go, ere he had once more seen his lost, but ever loved bride. He introduced himself into the palace, and was gliding towards the women's apartments in the hopes of meeting her there, when he was seized and taken up. Erik was immediately possessed by a burning jealousy. Maximilian was accused by Göran Persson on false pretences, condemned to death, sewed in a bag, and cast into the lake.

The people could not understand the deep devotion which Erik bore to Karin ; they thought that she had bewitched him by a philter. Karin never meddled with affairs of state, though Göran was not without alarm that her influence might displace him. He and his party tried, under false pretexs, to bring about her disgrace, but they did not succeed ; their intentions were discovered, and Erik so highly excited, that had it not been for the intercessions of the forgiving Karin herself, their lives and power would have then come to an end.

The love he bore her remained unchangeable. On beautiful summer afternoons, he, with his most intimate associates, would sail on Lake Mälär, when Karin was always of the party, and the object of his constant devotion and tenderness. The evenings were passed in the open air in singing, dancing, and rural sports. As they rowed home at night, Erik sat

by her side contemplating the sun-set lingering on the northern horizon through the long summer night, or the stars as they came forth in beauty in the Heavens above, and the depths below ; listening the while to the songs which echoed from the shore, or from distant boats. They were executed by his orders ; he was himself often the author of both the words and music. One of these, in which he extols " his Shepherdess," promises to love her for ever, and bids her " thousand good-nights," has descended to us, and is still known.

CHAPTER XV. .

KLAS CHRISTERSSON HORN.

IN the time of Magnus Smek, a man of the name of Sigmund de Horne came from Brabant, settled in Sweden, and became the ancestor of the celebrated Swedish families of the name of Horn. Sigmund lived in Öland, his son and descendants in Finland. The family attained to great consideration in Sweden, and at the time of which we are now speaking, was represented by two celebrated men, Henrik Klasson of Kankas, and his nephew Klas Christersson of Åminne. They had distinguished themselves in the Russian war, particularly Klas who had borne his share in James Bagge's achievements. He was at last named Commander-in-Chief of the cavalry. These two warriors enjoyed the same honours under Erik, and bore him the same allegiance. It was Henrik Klasson who, then in Finland, remarking John's intrigues with Poland, boldly revealed the treason ; and at a future period was made to pay dearly for his loyalty to his Sovereign as we shall see.

Klas Horn was almost always in camp, seldom at

Court, and never partook in the plots which were carried on. Where truth was needful he was not averse to speak it. He remarked the King's unhappy habit of trusting some too much, others too little; but without reason, and without measure. He then said to Erik: "A King in this country ought to be careful, and not give one a visible preference before the other; otherwise complaints, disquiets, and discontents, prevail, from which God preserve you, gracious Sir, and us all."

Klas Horn was named to the command of the troops which in 1561 King Erik sent to Esthonia. Here he was placed during two years in difficult circumstances; sometimes sickness broke out among the troops, sometimes mutiny, as well among the Swedish soldiers who called for home, as among the German and Scottish mercenaries who called for pay. The Esthonians were not to be trusted; the enemy strong and at hand; and help far distant. Notwithstanding Klas Horn had almost continual success; before he left he had taken the Castles of Reval, Padis, Pernau, Wittensten, Karkhouse, and others with their dependencies, and had in this campaign received signal assistance from Charles de Mornay.

In 1563, when the war with Denmark broke out, Åke Bengtsson Färla and Henrik Klasson Horn were appointed to the command in Esthonia, whence Klas Horn and Charles de Mornay were recalled to head the troops in the Danish war under the King, who had accompanied the army. The campaign was unsuccessful. Erik subdued Halland, where the people acknowledged him, then laid siege to Halmstad, but met with a firm and valiant resistance. Autumn was coming on; the soldiers fell ill, murmured, and wanted to go home:—some deserted. The chiefs counselled

the King to put an end to the siege, and this was backed by the news of Fredrick's being on the advance at the head of a Danish army. Erik summoned a council of war, and returned at their advice, taking a part of the troops along with him, and leaving the rest to be re-conducted by Horn and De Mornay; but no sooner had he retired than all order was at an end amongst the wearied soldiery, who deserted in troops, so that a speedy retreat became indispensable for Horn and Mornay. The Danish army marched on their traces, and overtook them at Fjellgränna on the 10th of November. The West Gothlanders and some other cavalry fled as soon as they saw the Danes; the Swedes suffered a considerable loss, and would most probably have been cut to pieces but for De Mornay's bravery, who at the head of a regiment of Swedish soldiers, whom the King himself had trained, valiantly covered the retreat of the rest, and made the Danes pay dear for their victory.

CHAPTER XVI.

KLAS HORN BECOMES ADMIRAL.

In 1564, after James Bagge was taken prisoner, King Erik had appointed Klas Fleming Admiral, and under him Peter Banér and Nils Grip with almost equal authority. They captured some merchant vessels, but did nothing worthy of mention; neither of the three Admirals would obey; none could command. When the Danish fleet appeared, they fled within the Skares and let the enemy ravage Öland with impunity. James Bagge's prediction of the fall of the Swedish navy seemed about to be accomplished.

When this news reached the King's ears, he was in the greatest fury, and appointed Klas Horn imme-

diately to the first command as Chief-Admiral. He joined the fleet on the 12th of August, which lay off Öland, and went on board the Elephant, which was once more the Admiral-ship, after the loss of the Matchless. He had scarce taken his command, before the Danish fleet was seen under sail; the wind was not advantageous for Horn, for which reason he kept off towards Öland; but it chopped about, and then he turned and attacked the Danes. The battle continued the whole day without decided success on either side: it was resumed the second day; but when three or four of the enemy's vessels were captured, and others destroyed, the remainder of the fleet fled towards the Sound, and no more ventured forth against the Swedes. During the battle, Erik with some troops had crossed over to Öland to defend it in case the Danes had gained an advantage. He sat on the shore, and contemplated Horn's victory instead, whom he received in the most friendly manner after the battle. As they had no more to fear for the Danish fleet, the King carried Horn with him to direct the war going on ashore. Horn had commanded the fleet but three days. It was again made over to Klas Fleming, who conducted it back to Elfsnabben.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE WAR ON SHORE.

The King now invaded Bleking with his army, and his generals Åke Färla, Klas Horn, and Charles de Mornay. There had been mutiny in the Danish army among the German troops, so that they were incapable of making any strong resistance. Lyckeby and Rönneby were taken; the latter after so obstinate a struggle, that its river ran red with blood. Here the old Burgo-

master, Henrik Hoffman, was taken prisoner, who twenty years before had lent Nils Dacke such friendly assistance. He now received its reward by being carried to Calmar and executed on the same place as his former ally. After the capture of Rönneby, Erik marched north again, and the army was confided to Horn and Mornay. On the report of their arrival, the Danish commander of Sölvißborg set the Castle on fire and fled; the Swedes followed and burnt the town. They afterwards burnt Elleholm, caused Åhus to ransom itself, ravaged Skåne ninety broad miles along the frontier, and Halland in the same way. They returned laden with booty. Erik caused these victories to be proclaimed all over the country; and even as the conqueror made a triumphal entry into Stockholm himself, though many thought the honour chiefly due to Klas Horn. The procession went from the south up towards the Castle; the Swedish cuirassiers defiled first with drum and trumpet; then the flags taken both by land and water were carried, rolled on their flag-staffs and reversed; afterwards the Danish prisoners, the nobles bound by white silk cords, the others with hempen ropes. Afterwards followed the Swedish nobility, and the King himself magnificently arrayed and surrounded by his Court. The rest of the troops finished the procession.

Matters were now in a bad condition on the frontier in the midst of these festivities. King Fredrick had dismissed the foreign commanders, and placed Daniel Rantzow at the head of his troops. He wished to revenge Horn's ravages in Skåne, invaded Småland, and plundered it far and wide; but the year was drawing to a close, the Småland peasants made a sharp resistance, and Rantzow was obliged to withdraw.

CHAPTER XVIII.

KLAS HORN'S VICTORIES IN 1565.

IN the commencement of the new year, Klas Horn was placed as leader of the armies. On the 21st of January they invaded Denmark, burnt Laholm, Engelholm and Ystad, and ravaged the country as far as Helsingborg. He returned, as on the former occasion, loaded with spoil. He had not been able to gain any victory, for the Danes did not venture to fight. They fled across the Sound to Zealand, fearing both Horn and the plague, which had broken out, but revenged these depredations by a similar expedition in the following April through Småland and West Gothland.

King Erik had his navy equipped this year in a style which had never before been seen in the Baltic. It consisted of fifty ships; the Admiral was called St. Erik, and was, after the loss of the Matchless, the first in size. Klas Horn was called from the army and appointed Admiral, and Matts Törne, Vice-Admiral. Should either of them fall, Peter Banér in the Swan, was to take his place. The fleet left the Skares of Stockholm in the middle of May, and almost every day was marked by some advantage gained by Horn.

On the 18th of May; a Danish ship was taken off Gothland.

21st May. A Lübeck vessel off Öland.

The same day Klas Horn sailed to Rygen, where six Danish and two Lübeck ships of war lay in wait for Swedish merchant men returning from Stralsund; they fled on approach of the Swedish fleet. Two Danes and two Lübeckers escaped in the Bay of Gripswald; the other four, which were further out, were shut into a bay under Jasmund, where the Danes steered their ships aground, carried their cannon ashore, and began firing

on the Swedes ; but as they effected nothing by it, they burnt their vessels themselves, and left what they had rescued to be the spoil of the enemy.

May 25. Klas Horn sent five vessels to follow the four which had taken shelter in the Bay of Gripswald. The Duke of Pommerania determined to deliver up these with their appurtenances, if Horn would desist from following them up the Oder. He accepted the conditions, and sailed that same morning from Rygen with flying colours, drum and trumpet, and held on his course for the Sound.

May 26. Horn took four Danish merchantmen off Möen, and on the same day steered to Falsterbo where the Lübeck fleet lay. It escaped into the Sound.

May 27. Horn pursued. It was a Sunday, and the people were in Church as he sailed by Copenhagen. The King was celebrating the bridal of one of his courtiers when the Lübeck fleet arrived unexpectedly, followed by the Swedes in pursuit. The greatest disorder and confusion ensued in the town. The people rushed out of Church ; King Fredrick himself wept with anguish, and exhorted his subjects to make a valiant resistance. His own fleet was not yet ready, but he went in a boat on board the Lübeckers, imploring them to defend the capital, which they promised to do. The Swedish pilots were ignorant of the soundings, and dared not venture a nearer approach ; neither had Horn sufficient troops for a descent.

The same day a number of Danish boats, loaded with provision and drinkables, came down the Sound, intending to go into Copenhagen, and steered right for the Swedish fleet, thinking it to be Danish. They were captured ; provisions, ropes, and tackle carried on board the Swedish vessels, the boats themselves hewn asunder and sunk.

May 29. A Dutch convoy of corn, consisting of two hundred and fifty sails, came from Dantzig to the Sound. They were obliged to pay the usual toll; not to the Danes, however, but to Klas Horn. Four of the vessels were Danish; one belonged to the Hanse Towns. They were captured.

May 30. Klas Horn having learnt that Lübeck had built a new Admiral-vessel as large as St. Erik, and called the *Styr-Swerge*, or "Rule Sweden," which was now lying ready to sail from Travemunde, steered thither with his fleet.

June 1. Klas Horn arrived at Travemunde. When the Lübeckers saw him at a distance, they cast the ballast out of the *Styr-Swerge*, and brought her into twelve feet water by the shore where the Swedes could not approach, and a skirmish took place but without much injury on either side. Klas Horn then sailed away to avoid being shut up in the narrow bay.

June 3rd. He took a Lübeck merchant vessel.

June 4th. The battle of Buchow.

The Danish fleet was at last ready, of which Herlöf Trolle in the flag-ship, the *Ranger*, was Admiral. It joined the Lübeck fleet and sailed into the Baltic, being twenty-eight sail strong. The 4th of June, at twelve in the forenoon they met Klas Horn before the town of Buchow in Mecklenburgh. The Swedes and Danes opened a murderous fire on each other; the Lübeckers sailed round and round, and watched the event. When the battle had lasted some time, Herlöf Trolle desired closer contact with the enemy, and therefore with a favourable wind steered for the Swedish fleet, seeking to board the *Swan*; but the *Swan* held off, and fired on the *Ranger* from afar, who then steered for another named the *Hercules*; but it acted in the same way as the *Swan*, and the example was

followed by the Angel and the Pelican. When Herlöf Trolle had thus single-handed defied a part of the Swedish fleet, he sailed foul of a little Swedish vessel named the Troilus, commanded by Nils Skenk. The Ranger struck her with such force, that the Troilus lost her mizen mast, got her stern crushed, and leaked on the one side. She lay under the Ranger like a duck beneath a sea-eagle. Herlöf Trolle cast out his grappling irons; "Ye traitor Swedes," he shouted, "strike for the King of Denmark!" and commanded his men to board; but the Swedes held them boldly off with long boat hooks. Seventy Finns were on board with their steel bows, and their arrows flew like hail upon the Danes. Herlöf Trolle, dauntless in danger, and standing aloft on the Ranger to encourage his men, was easily recognised by his dark blue steel armour, his hat adorned with a feather and three crowns. Nils Skenk set his eyes upon him, seized a gun, and fired a ball which went through his arm and his chin. The brave Herlöf Trolle however would not have given way, had he not feared the arrival of some of the larger Swedish vessels; she therefore desired the ropes of the grappling irons to be hewn off, and rejoined his own people. Twilight was coming on, and the battle ceased. Herlöf Trolle's engagement with the Ranger, had neither been serious nor bloody.

June 5th. The fleets could not come to battle on account of the wind, though they lay precisely opposite to each other, and both desired it.

June 6th. Herlöf Trolle was ill from his wound; the Danish fleet had suffered in the battle, so that when Klas Horn desired to renew the fight, they retired to Öresund. Horn went to Jasmund.

June 10th. Klas Horn took a vessel off Lübeck.

The same day the ships, which on the 25th of May

had pursued the Danes into the bay of Gripswald, returned. The Danish vessels were with their equipments seized on King Erik's account by the Duke of Pomerania.

For a month longer Klas Horn cruised about without encountering any resistance, but captured every enemy's vessel he met. Herlöf Trolle had died of his wound, and the Danish fleet had retired to repair. He once made a descent on the island of Möen, and helped himself to what his men required.

In the beginning of July the Danes re-appeared, this time commanded by Otto Rud on the *Ranger*. They were desirous to revenge their former defeat, and the affright and affront Klas Horn had put them to in the Sound. On the 7th of July both fleets met between Bornholm and Rygen; Otto Rud steered right on the *St. Erik* and grappled with her; Banér with the *Swan* then attacked the *Ranger*; the Danish Vice-Admiral Christopher fell on the *Swan*, and on him in her turn, the "*Swedish Maiden*." Thus three Swedish, and three Danish vessels were laying side by side in the most violent combat.

In another direction the Lübeck Admiral grappled with the Swedish *Hector*; David and *Troilus* came to the assistance of the *Hector*; but a Lübecker attacked the *David*. The "*old Griffin*," a Swedish vessel arrived to lend her assistance, but another Lübecker steered with a fresh wind right on this last, so that she was breached, and sunk, with every soul on board. After the lapse of three hours, the Lübeckers abandoned the *Hector* and *David*, but the little *Troilus* together with her antagonist was driven by the wind down to the before-mentioned vessels, and lay alongside of the Danish *Christopher*. Here the battle raged furiously; for four hours the *Troilus* was exposed to shot on every side, but

Nils Skenk was neither intimidated nor inactive. He directed his cannons the whole time against the Christopher, and not without success. The Vice-Admiral Nils Trolle lost a leg and was carried down to the cabin, and it was soon discovered that the water was streaming in through the breaches the guns of the Troilus had caused. Meanwhile the Swedish St. George came up; the Danes perceived that the Christopher was beginning to sink, part of her ship's company leapt into the St. George, cut down her men, and steered undiscovered through the Swedish fleet. Those who remained on board the Christopher hoped to do the same with the Swan, which caused another severe struggle. Peter Banér was shot by a ball through the waist and fell; but Sten Sture who took the command after him, received assistance, and succeeded in driving the enemy back to the Christopher; scarce were they on board, however, when that vessel suddenly sunk. In the mean time, the Danes had set the "Golden Lion," on fire; the flames spread, and the ship and its crew perished; but the brunt of the combat was where the two Admirals lay. Otto Rud defended himself long and valiantly on the Ranger; Sten Sture on the Swan, attacked him vigorously on the one side, but was shot by a ball through the forehead. At last of nine hundred men on the Ranger, scarce one hundred and fifty remained; she was then captured, and the rest of the Danish ships fled, but many were taken in their flight by their pursuers. Thus ended the battle. The Swedes had lost four ships, and more than a thousand men. The Danes seven ships, amongst them the Admiral and Vice-Admiral, and four thousand men, among whom their Vice-Admiral Nils Trolle who was drowned, and Admiral Otto Rud who was taken prisoner. The rest of the Danish vessels fled to Öresund; the Lü-

beckers to Lübeck; neither were inclined for further resistance, for which reason, and on account of the plague which made ravages on board the Swedish fleet, Horn steered back to Dalarön.

Erik received him with marks of singular favour; a triumphal entry into Stockholm was accorded him, as James Bagge had had, only his was more magnificent. Klas Horn, his officers, and even the soldiers who had taken part in the battle were richly rewarded; the fallen were buried with great pomp, particularly Peter Banér and Sten Sture. They had their burial-place in the Cathedral of Upsala, and the chief men of the kingdom, even the royal family, walked in their funeral procession. King Erik erected a monument to their memory, and himself composed their epitaphs.

Thus he honoured and rewarded his faithful servants; the Danish prisoners were not so generously treated. The Danes had published a lampoon, on the title-page of which there was a peasant blowing on a bagpipe, and in the song it was said that the Swedes should dance to the pipe of the Danes. To return this mockery, a peasant blowing with all his might on the bagpipe, marched in the procession before Otto Rud and the Danish prisoners. When he was conducted before the King, Erik received him ungraciously, breaking out into hard words, both against Denmark and her monarch. Herr Otto Rud boldly made reply for his King and his country, which enraged Erik to the degree that he in his madness grasped his sword and was rushing against him, had not Klas Horn, who was present, caught him by the arm, representing to him that Sir Otto deserved praise rather than blame; on which Erik mastered his passion. The prisoners were scattered throughout the country, most however were sent to the Sala mines, their heads being shaved every day,

that they might be easily recognized. Many died of the plague which was then raging, and amongst these the valiant Otto Rud.

On the 5th of September, Klas Horn again sailed out with his fleet, but he met but few enemies; these either fled or were captured. The Danish fleet lay in the Sound already unrigged, and not intending to put to sea again this year. Klas Horn attacked Hammerhus on Bornholm and took some vessels; but as the autumn nights began to be long and dark, and the plague besides to show itself on board, he returned and conducted his fleet into Elfsnabben on the 1st of November.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CAPTURE OF WARBERG.

At the same time that Klas Horn sailed with the fleet for the second time, King Erik marched with his army towards the Danish frontier where he heard that King Fredrick was not himself to take the field against him; on which it was determined that it was neither suitable nor necessary that the King should venture himself against a subordinate commander. He returned to Orreholm, and the army under Nils Boje marched to Warberg, Duke Charles, now fifteen years old, accompanying in command of the artillery. The Danes were summoned several times to surrender, but gave haughty answers; when the Swedes poured their shot and their fireballs upon the town. They succeeded at first in extinguishing the fire; but the wind was strong, and towards night the flames spread with irresistible violence; the Swedes, who had not intended storming till the following day, seized the opportunity, and vigorously attacked the town. The Danes defended

themselves valiantly, cast fire-balls, stones, and boiling water upon them. Perhaps they might have succeeded in repelling the attack had not the young Duke Charles been present. He encouraged the Swedes by word and example, and, at last, after five hours' fighting, they mastered the ramparts; it was precisely eight o'clock on the 28th of August. The town was pillaged and burnt; every man of age to carry arms was cut down, save a hundred and fifty German, Scotch, and French mercenaries, who went into the Swedish service. Among them was Pontus de la Gardie, a French noble, captain of a portion of these soldiers, afterwards a successful Swedish commander, and ancestor of the celebrated de la Gardie family in Sweden.

The Castle of Warberg was still in the hands of the Danes. On the 10th of September siege was laid to it; on the 13th the cannon was opened upon it; the 17th it was summoned, but in vain. The firing was continued till ten on the forenoon of the 15th, when the Swedes rushed to storm. The Danes defended themselves for three hours; at last they were overpowered by superior numbers, and cut down to a man, except some of the leaders who had fled into the women's apartment, and were spared through their prayers and tears. The Swedes found rich spoil in the Castle, for the valuables of the surrounding country had been deposited in it. Charles de Mornay was left in command, and soon had the ruined walls restored.

A short time after Daniel Rantzow arrived, thinking it would be no difficult task to reconquer the dismantled fortress. Thrice he stormed: thrice he was repulsed, and obliged at last to retire with considerable loss.

CHAPTER XX.

BATTLE OF SWARTERÅ.

KING ERIK had collected an army in West Gothland, and given the command to Jacob Henrikson Hästsko with orders to invade Halland and attack the Danish army in a pitched battle. Jacob Hästsko therefore sent a division to destroy the bridge of Falkenberg, over the river Åtra, which was so much swollen by the autumn rains that it could not be forded at any part. Some of the Danish troops who defended the bridge were repulsed, and the Swedes succeeded in burning it, by which means Daniel Rantzow, at this juncture, marching back from his unfortunate attempts on Warberg, was shut into the north of Halland which was precisely what Hästsko desired. There was but one possible means for him to escape, and that was by gaining a ford over the Åtra, near the village of Axtorna in the parish of Swarterå. Thither both armies hastened: Rantzow to cross, Hästsko to prevent it, and arrived at the same time. Rantzow dared not attempt the passage in the presence of the Swedes; but posted himself advantageously on a height, surrounded his camp by a defence formed by the baggage waggons, and defended by his cannon. On a height precisely opposite, the Swedes posted themselves to equal advantage, more than double the Danes in number. Neither commander would abandon his favourable position, but awaited the attack of the other, though long in vain. The Swedes, at last, proud of their great numbers, urged an attack. Jacob Hästsko remembered Erik's express command to seek a battle, and determined to act accordingly. He marched down from the height, his infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the wings. When Rantzow saw their advance, he collected his troops

within his fortification, and exhorted them to punish the audacity of the Swedes and defend their country; "they would always find their commander first in the battle, would they but faithfully follow him." On this, he with his men fell on their knees, and offered up a short but fervent prayer to Heaven for victory over their numerous and audacious enemy. The Swedes seeing the Danes on their knees, and with hands raised to Heaven, exclaimed: "See! the Jutlanders are kneeling to us. Look! they beg mercy, they yield themselves prisoners already!" with which words they rushed on their foe.

Daniel Rantzow, meanwhile, speedily put his men in posture of defence; the Swedes rushed boldly forward, even within the defences, and got possession of the cannons; but at this moment the German cavalry turned and fled. Rantzow seized the opportunity, and attacked the Swedish infantry left unprotected on both flanks; this obliged them to retreat from within the wall, leaving what they had so lately mastered behind them, and gradually further, till night put an end to the combat. Both parties assumed the victory. A German medal which remains to us from that day, says that five thousand Swedes remained on the field, that the Swedes were six times as numerous as the Danes, and King Fredrick returned thanks for the victory. King Erik caused a triumph to be held, and the Swedes pretended that they had lost but seventeen hundred: the Danes two thousand three hundred men. The truth is that the loss was heavy on both sides. The Swedes took many Danish gentlemen prisoners, and carried off many flags; the Danes on their side took an equal number of prisoners, and banners, and thirty cannon in addition. A Swedish version relates that the Swedes retired with colours flying and in good order;

but another expressly says that when the cavalry fled, Nils Sture did not know how he was to save the banner that he bore ; he therefore tore it from the flag-staff, and stuffing the flag itself in his trowsers, hurried off as fast as he could. The Swedes defeated in reality withdrew ; the Danes as victors retained the field, but did not dare to pursue the enemy, still superior in numbers, even after their discomfiture.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE SIEGE OF BOHUS.

THE Danes continually making predatory sallies from the fortresses of Bohus and Elfsborg, Erik was extremely desirous to gain possession of these two places.

In the beginning of 1565, he trusted this charge to Åke Bengtsson Färila, who attacked Bohus and attempted storming, but without success. After the lapse of three months, he was degraded from his command ; for Erik ascribed the non-accomplishment of his wishes to Åke's fault.

Per Brahe was sent to replace him ; but matters now went worse than before. He could not prevent the Danes from supplying Elfsborg with provisions and troops, and complained that he could not get his men to storm the well-fortified walls. Erik desired him to decoy a body of soldiery over to the island on which the Castle is situated, on which he should cause the boats to be rowed back, and leaving the soldiers without provisions or protection from the cannon of the Castle, drive them by despair to storm. Per Brahe not choosing to obey so cruel an order, fell into disgrace, and was dismissed.

Charles de Mornay was the next posted to the com-

mand, but after a very short time Erik was dissatisfied with him, and remanded him.

Ivar Månsson Stjernkors was the next, but neither could he accomplish anything, and was discharged.

Nils Boje was sent in his place. He breached one of the towers and attempted to storm, but in vain; a number of the besiegers were blown up by a mine which the Danes had dug and fired. Erik was angry. Boje's former services alone preserved him from disgraceful punishment. He was dismissed.

Charles de Mornay was then sent thither again, but could effect nothing. Five changes in less than a year and a half made the commanders discontented and careless, and the men place no confidence either in their changeable King, or their continually changed officers; they were irritated, besides, by the non-receipt of their pay. Herr Eskill's chamber (the Treasury) was growing empty.

In the spring of 1566, when the armies were to march, Erik determined not to employ any of his former generals, for he considered them all good for nothing. In their place, he nominated Hogenskild Bjelke, but he refused such a dangerous office, and no one else was inclined to accept it.

CHAPTER XXII.

KING ERIK AND THE STURES.

KING GUSTAVUS and his sons bore ever a sort of dread of the Sture family. They feared they would find it difficult to resist the many temptations to rebellion which the memory of the past, the love of the people, and their own power offered. Gustavus' wisdom concealed his fear; with Erik, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other prevailed.

In the beginning he showed great confidence in Swante Sture, and appointed him Governor of Livonia; but as affairs did not go so well in that province as Erik wished, he became displeased with Sture, who then resigned his charge. This but angered Erik the more, who made out a list of not less than seventy-nine points of complaint against him, the greater part concerning trifling faults in his administration; however, a reconciliation soon followed.

During the first years of his reign, and while Erik was courting his foreign Princesses abroad, he pretended even to think of one of the Ladies Sture, the purport of which was to flatter and gain the family. Erik, perhaps, may have been in earnest, but many laboured against it, Göran Persson particularly. "These great houses," he said, "are mighty enough as it is, they ought not to be put on an equality with the Majesty of the throne." The King followed his advice, but the counsellor was the more hated by the Stures; they persecuted him, and he them. Conspiracies and ill-will surrounded the King on every side.

To reconcile them, he betrothed his natural daughter, Virginia, to one of the young Stures, but they were probably not well satisfied with this. In 1564, Olof Stenbock and the young men held a meeting with the peasants. Stenbock burst into the most violent reproaches against the King, and the Stures not only did not contradict him, but are reported also to have used rebellious words. Information of the affair was given, and it was brought before the Highest Court, which condemned Olof Stenbock to lose his life and property; which, however, were both granted to him by Erik for the sake of his sister, the Queen Dowager. There was no charge brought against the not guiltless Stures, some say; others, that they were likewise judged, condemned, and reprimed.

CHAPTER XXIII.

NILS STURE.

NILS was the one of all the Stures whom Erik dreaded the most. He was the eldest, handsome, learned, clever, beloved by all, and what was worst for Erik had light, almost white hair. The King thought ever with affright on the prophecy of the stars: "The white head will bring me mischief in the end," he said. He was so little master of his repugnance, that Herr Nils at last left Court, not to be an eye-sore to the King. He joined the army, but even there persecution followed him, which was fanned by others. Jacob Hästsko insisted that the battle of Swarterå was lost by Nils Sture's treachery.

Erik, however, concealed his suspicions. Shortly after the battle he was called to Wadstena and very graciously received. Göran Persson even gave him two hundred farms in the King's name, and promised two hundred more if Nils would perform a commission for the King. It was a double service he was asked to render; first, that with his people he should surprise and cut down the German cavalry which had fled from Swarterå; next, that he should exact heavy penalties from some parishes in West Gothland which had evaded furnishing day-labour at Warberg Castle; and if the peasants would not pay, to burn and ravage their land. Nils Sture's answer is not ascertained; it is only known that the Germans were punished, and the parishes of West Gothland pillaged, but by another. His relations afterwards said that Erik had been chiefly incensed against him by his having refused to execute these cruel commissions.

He was now sent to assist Boje at the siege of Bohus, but neither here were his services well accepted. Boje

said that Nils Sture had conducted himself the whole time as if he had wished to hinder the success of the Swedish arms, on which he was recalled, and ordered to present himself without delay at Swartsjö where the King was.

He was well received by Erik and invited to dinner. During conversation, they began to speak of the battle of Swarterå, but Nils made his excuse, which was accepted by the King, who even drank his health. After dinner, he asked and received permission to travel to Stockholm, that he might furnish himself with new clothes, the old being entirely worn out in the war. He had been but three days in the capital when a message arrived one morning early from Göran Persson informing him that he was coming to Nils Sture on business of importance. Sture ordered wine to be bought and viands to be prepared, waiting Göran Persson's arrival. In the afternoon, one of Sture's servants rushed in to inform him that heralds were riding about the streets proclaiming Nils Sture a traitor. He was presently followed by Göran himself, with a body of German soldiery. He ordered Sture to choose of the two, "whether, crowned with a garland of straw and riding on a plough-horse, he would make his progress through Stockholm, or answer before law to the accusation which Göran could make, and suffer what punishment might be adjudged to him." Sture chose the latter, and was immediately led before the "King's Highest;" a German guard was set before the door, and none were permitted to enter and witness the trial. Nils Boje, Anders Rålamb, and Nils Sture were accused of divers faults during the late campaign, particularly at the Battle of Swarterå and the Siege of Bohus. The trials lasted two days. Boje and Rålamb were pardoned or acquitted; Sture condemned to loss of life and property, unless the King would ex-

tend his royal clemency towards him. Erik's clemency commuted his punishment into a degrading procession.

On the morning of the 15th of January, 1566, Göran Persson summoned the German mercenaries, to whom he gave positive orders not to side with Sture. In the afternoon, the latter was conducted by some companies of soldiers to the southern gate through which the procession was to enter the town. An old broken-down plough-horse was led out, but as Nils Sture refused to mount, the soldiers lifted him by force into the saddle; in the struggle his hat fell off, and blood gushed from his nose, but his arms were held and they would not permit him to wipe it off. The procession now commenced from the south gate to the iron market. The streets were lined with soldiers. It opened by a long row of beggar children and old beggar women, two and two together, and was closed by an old white plough-horse dragging two fir bushes fastened at the top so that the roots dragged after, and were intended to sweep the streets where the traitor had passed. Near the Iron Market, Sture's servant came running with his hat which he set on his master's head, and wiped away the streaming blood. As the procession came into the market-place, the Finns, who were there marshalled, sounded their trumpets and horns. Göran Persson lived at the further end of the square, and beneath his windows the procession stopped. One of Persson's partisans now came out, carrying a straw-crown in one, and a blank sheet of paper in the other hand. He set the garland on Sture's hat, and laid the paper before him on the saddle, saying: "Here Nils Sture, thou traitor, thou hast the stately present which thou hast deserved in the field, and here is a register of the goods which are awarded thee." Sture then answered: "A hempen rope on thy neck would be a more fitting

reward for thee than this is for me. I have deserved far otherwise of the King. To that ye can bear sufficient witness," he said turning to the soldiers, "you who have been with me in battle." A quarter-master first replied, and then several others, crying aloud that Herr Nils had conducted himself like a loyal Swede against the enemy. Göran Persson stood on the watch in his house to see how all would pass. When he heard the shouts of the soldiers, he rushed out and said: "What, Nils Sture! are you abusing the King, you traitor? You shall pay for that with your life." Sture answered: "I have said nothing against the King; all present can bear me witness." The soldiers cried that Sture had said nothing against the King, and that he was innocent. Göran Persson threatened them, but they shouted the louder; he then rushed back into his house, and made a sign agreed on, when the Finns recommenced sounding their horns and trumpets, and the procession moved on, and stopped at last at Sture's house into which he was conducted.

On the following night at between one and two, he was woke up and carried away with such haste, that he was not permitted time to dress himself, taken down to the lake, placed in a boat and carried over to Örbý to be there held a prisoner. When Jacob Hästsko heard this, though himself Sture's enemy, he thought the King had carried it too far; he hastened to the Castle, but it was not easy to find Erik; he had shut his doors, especially against the nobles, but after much trouble he was at last admitted. He then begged the King, "for God's sake not to allow Göran Persson to treat Swedish men according to his will and pleasure; no good could ever come of it." Erik excused himself by saying, that he did not know that Sture had been removed. An order was despatched for his recall, and •

after the lapse of two days he was brought back to town.

Scarcely a week after, Erik sent a message to Nils Sture desiring him to set out for Lotringen, as his Ambassador for the Princess Renata. He answered: "That it was his duty to obey the King's commands, but he thought that such a disgraced and dishonoured man was little fitted to be suitor in a King's name." Erik returned answer, "That the procession had taken place by the influence of evil men, and that he would now become a gracious master to him." He only required Sture to sign a paper, confessing himself guilty, and to procure six men of condition as securities for his allegiance. The Sture's afterwards affirmed that Nils and his sureties had never signed this paper; the reconciliation was made at all events, and within two weeks after the procession, proclamations were set up at the corners of the streets, and cried by heralds on the squares and public places, "that none on pain of death should reproach Herr Nils with that affront, or speak otherwise than well of him."

Nils Sture went on board, but the ship was delayed one day by contrary winds under Waldemar's Island, during which time many of his friends and relations came to visit him and drink a parting cup with him. It is very probable that they did not entertain the best thoughts in their own breasts towards Erik, and that they may have let expressions fall betraying their sentiments. Every word was caught up, as the commander of the vessel was one of Göran Persson's fellows, and never left them alone. The vessel sailed next day. In the Baltic they were attacked by a Danish privateer, defended themselves valiantly, and were obliged to put in to Calmar to repair damages. When they had again
● put to sea, Sture got a severe sickness in which almost

all his hair fell off his head, and his party say that the Captain had poisoned him in a dish of stewed pike, so that his life was saved with difficulty by the physicians at Stralsund. On his recovery, he pursued his journey to Lotringen.

CHAPTER XXIV.

KLAS HORN'S LAST EXPEDITION AT SEA.

IN 1566, Erik equipped a fleet still more numerous than that of the former year ; it consisted of sixty-eight sail. Klas Horn on the St. Erik was the Admiral. On the 23rd of May, he went out from Elfsnabbe, cruised about the Baltic, captured a number of merchant vessels and waited for the united fleets of Denmark and Lübeck. This, consisting of but thirty-four vessels, dared not venture against the Swedes, but lying in the Sound, detained every vessel bringing salt to the number of several hundreds, so that a great dearth of this article ensued in Sweden. As the enemy would not come to Klas Horn, he sailed in search of them ; but they kept close in shore where he could not follow. The salt vessels were meanwhile released, and Horn sent a great number of them to the Swedish ports. He also enforced payment of the toll in the Sound before the eyes of the Danes, but when he saw that the enemy avoided all combat he left them, and arrived on the 6th of July at Dalars.

He sailed out again on the 15th, after having re-victualled. On the 26th, he met the fleet of the enemy near the northern extremity of Öland. A sharp encounter ensued. The St. Erik engaged with the Styr Swerge ; when Klas Horn, after a while, himself pointed and fired a large culverin placed in the bow of his ship, which carried the mainmast of his antagonist

overboard ; the Lübeckers steered their Admiral's vessel out of the combat, and Horn would willingly have followed and captured it, but dared not, being alone, against several of the enemy's ships. The enemy withdrew towards Gothland ; the Swedes pursued, but were obliged to desist, for a violent storm came on which lasted three days. The fleets of Denmark and Lübeck, which had drawn in too near shore were shipwrecked, and lost sixteen vessels with their cargo, equipment and ship's companies, amounting to more than seven thousand men. Among the number was the Danish flag-ship, the *Samson*, the Lübecker, *Styr Swerge*, and the Vice-Admirals of both nations. But a few vessels remained of the whole fleets.

The Swedish ships which were out at sea during the storm were scattered, but suffered little, and on the 6th of August, Klas Horn brought back his fleet in good order to Elfsnabbe.

CHAPTER XXV.

CAMPAIGN OF 1566.

WE have already related Erik's discontent with his officers, and theirs with him. Intelligence now reached him that Rantzow was ravaging West Gothland. Erik placed Duke Magnus of Saxony at the head of the army, but he was incapable of inspiring the men with courage ; all went ill and dilatorily. The King next determined to command them himself, but travelled so slowly that he took fourteen days to get from Stockholm to Örebro. This gave Rantzow time to withdraw, but Mornay, with the small body under his command, defeated him with considerable loss on the frontier. Hearing of this, Erik turned back and disbanded the whole army to prevent the spreading of the plague.

Klas Horn was appointed to command a certain portion of troops who were to break into Halland, but he fell sick and died of the plague in the parsonage of Åby. This illustrious hero is buried in the Cathedral of Upsala, in the choir beside Gustaf Wasa; their names have passed together to posterity.

Shortly after as Mornay and Hästsko were out reconnoitering the proceedings of the enemy, they were surprised and taken prisoners by some Danish troops; and now indeed King Erik's complaints of being without good commanders did not appear groundless. But they were now less required; the plague spread more and more, and the Kings were obliged to defer their animosities.

CHAPTER XXVI.

TRIAL OF THE STURES.

ERIK's misfortunes increased his suspicions. He had ever feared his brothers and the nobility, but the late events made him dread the other orders likewise. If before he had willingly lent his ear to tale bearers, he now put his whole trust in them. He kept secret spies in every house in Stockholm, and each morning wasted his time and his temper in listening to their accounts of every joke, smile, or careless word which could by any means be construed as derogatory to his Government.

The Stures, particularly Nils with his white and now almost bald head, still continued to be the chief objects of his dread. One day at the Norrmalm, happening to meet one of Swante Sture's huntsmen carrying in one hand a gun, and in the other the lock of it to be mended at a gunsmiths, he imagined the man to be an assassin sent out against him by the Stures, and gave

Göran Persson orders to take him prisoner and examine him. By bribes and tortures they now attempted to make the unhappy man witness against Swante Sture. Two shirts dipped in spirits were burnt upon his body, but in vain; nor were bribes more successful. All efforts proving fruitless, Göran Persson proposed putting him to death, that the thing might remain secret, but this Erik would not permit. The huntsman was sent into the Sala mine, and it was not till long after that his wife by her prayers and entreaties succeeded in obtaining his deliverance. It was likewise at this time that Erik broke the engagement that had been made between his daughter Virginia, and one of the young Stures.

At length Erik and Göran Persson imagined that they had got complete proofs against Sture and several of the higher nobility; they however kept this secret, and proclaimed a Diet to meet in Stockholm on the 1st of May, 1567. Summonses were sent to all the accused nobles, though nothing of the kind was mentioned in the letters; but on the contrary they were assured of the King's particular grace and favour. These Lords were Swante Sture with his sons Nils and Erik, Sten Lejonhufwud, the old Gustaf Stenbock with his sons Abraham and Erik, Per Brahe, Sten Banér, Klass Tott, Ture Bjelke, and Ivar Ivarsson.

The King and Göran Persson foreseeing that the Diet would probably be stormy, removed it to Upsala and deferred it to the 18th of May. Meanwhile the members summoned were appointed to meet the King at Swartsjö. Erik Sture arrived first, who was immediately put into prison. At the news of this, his mother, Lady Martha, hurried thither, but was not permitted to present herself within the gates of the Castle, still less before the King. She was put in custody first in the Castle, afterwards in a peasant's farm in the neighbour-

hood, whence she repeatedly wrote humble letters to Karin Mänsdotter and to Virginia, imploring their mediation for her son; but they would not assist her. Meanwhile, Sten Lejonhufwud, Sten Banér, Abraham Stenbock and Ivar Ivarsson arrived, and lastly the old Lord Swante himself. On his journey, learning what had befallen his wife and son, he had confessed and partaken of the Holy Communion in the Church of Södertelje, and then proceeded on his way. On their arrival all were made prisoners except Abraham Stenbock, who was invited to the King's table, well entertained, and conducted at night into a magnificent sleeping apartment. There Göran Persson joined him, and brought him a letter to a German nobleman named Joshua Genewitz with the request that Herr Abraham would sign it. The letter treated of some gold chains and armour which were to be procured. It seemed therefore very harmless, still Abraham would not at first agree to sign it, though threatened by Göran Persson with torture if he refused. He did so at last on condition that Göran would give him a certificate signed by two witnesses that his signature had been obtained by the King's order through Göran Persson.

This letter was afterwards used as a proof against the rest; gold chains were to signify money; armour, soldiers:—at any rate so they persuaded Erik. After this, Stenbock was taken into custody like the rest, and their trial began. Its course is but very imperfectly known. Abraham Stenbock and Ivar Ivarsson were condemned to death on what pretext is unknown. Swante Sture was brought twice before the Court, but could not be convicted of any crime. The Judges were however determined on his fall, but Erik was present, who, moved either by a sentiment of justice or compassion, or under colour of both, ordered the case to

he examined more closely before the doom was pronounced. The Lord Swante returned thanks for this favour, and said that he had something of great importance to communicate to the King, but Göran Persson came between and hindered the conversation.

The sitting of the Diet was now to commence, and all the prisoners including the Lady Martha were conveyed to Upsala, carefully guarded, and each in a separate boat. Erik had ordered that they should be treated well, which Göran obeyed in such a manner, that Lady Martha was obliged on the way to endure much offensive and disgraceful talk from her guards, and the Lord Swante was, on arriving at Upsala, put into a room where dogs had been kept, the floor of which was so covered with dirt, that his servant was obliged to clean out with a fir branch a corner in which his master might repose. He was afterwards removed to a better room at Erik's order. The other Lords were confined in the Castle, and Lady Martha in her house in the town.

During this time Nils Sture came home from Lotringen; he had lately received letters from the King assuring him of his favour, and had likewise brought back a favourable answer from the Princess and even a ring, and might therefore imagine he had nothing but favour to expect. As he drew near Upsala, he was informed that his family was in confinement; he proceeded notwithstanding, but to avoid suspicion instead of lodging at his mother's house, he went to the Archbishop, whom he begged to accompany him to the Castle. He did so, but it was too late for them to gain admittance. On returning to the Archbishop's palace, they found that several gentlemen had assembled, Petrus Caroli among the number. When this man saw Nils Sture he glided out and hastened to the Castle, where he was admitted to Göran Persson by a back

door. After a short time soldiers came down from the Castle, and taking Nils prisoner carried him back with them.

On the 19th of May, the Diet was to open. Göran and his party did all in their power to inflame Erik. When he arrived from Swartsjö there was a very small suite waiting to receive him, and a very small party accompanied him from Flötsund to Upsala. On the evening previous to the opening of the Diet, they succeeded in seducing him into a debauch, a rare occurrence with Erik. He had written the speech with which he was to open the Diet, but it disappeared the same evening, nor did he miss it till the following day. He gave therefore in its stead an unprepared discourse which treated chiefly of the treasure of Nils Sture and his companions. It was ill received, a murmur of disapprobation ran through the assembly, but chiefly among the clergy; reproaches against the King and his Government were heard here and there, and the noise increased to such a degree that he was obliged to dismiss the assembly. After this, Erik did not again personally appear before the States. Göran Persson made his complaint against the Lords, strongly supported by Dionysius Beurheus. We shall repeat the heads of the accusation and the proofs produced.

Duke Magnus of Saxony bore witness that he had heard Sten Lejonhufwud, Abraham Stenbock, and Ivar Ivarsson openly say that Nils Sture's procession through Stockholm was unjust and ought to be revenged, and King Erik should see how it would go with him in return for it.

Hans Wolff, a servant of Abraham Stenbock, gave witness that one day when there were a number of gentlemen dining at Count Swante's table, all the servants had been dismissed except Hans Elers. He

had left the room a little after full of joy and said : " It is now determined to revenge the shame that was thrown upon the good Herr Nils in Stockholm." The old Count Swante had often said openly that he would revenge his son's unjust treatment. This was all that was adduced to prove the traitorous intentions of the Stures against Erik. They were never permitted to answer for themselves before the States, and their family afterwards averred that the revenge of which they had spoken was to be taken on Göran Persson alone.

We have spoken of the visits which Nils Sture received on board his vessel when he was to sail to Lotringen; Göran Persson said that it was then that the conspiracy itself had been formed. Peter Gastrop, a young German merchant was called upon as witness, who related that he had heard Joshua Genewitz say, that Joshua had engaged with Nils Sture, Klas Tott, Abraham Stenbock, and Ivar Ivarson, to depose and kill King Erik. The King's organist, Alexander, witnessed that in Germany he had heard speak of a conspiracy against King Erik; the King's physician averred the same. The defendants pleaded partly that some of these witnesses were contemptible persons, bribed by Göran Persson; partly that their deposition was not valid, being grounded only on vague reports.

One Paul Smed said that Nils Sture, on his journey to Lotringen, had, while in Stralsund, plotted with Joshua Genewitz against the King. The Sture party averred that this same Paul Smed, some time after, came in a drunken fit to quarrel with Hans Wolff, when they mutually accused each other of having borne false witness in this affair.

Some time before the trial Sivierd Kruse had celebrated his marriage, at which a noble damsel of the

company had in sport taken a banner and borne it round the hall, Erik Sture and Sten Banér coming forward, and joking, calling her. "Sir Ensign." The next morning they wrote her the following letter: "It being to us poor soldiers unknown where you, dear Sir Ensign, intend to establish your company, we beg most earnestly to be informed in order that we poor country soldiers who have joined your regiment may know where to find our dear Ensign, in whose service we would willingly die, &c." When Erik Sture was taken prisoner, Göran Persson examined all his effects, and found this note among them. He believed, or pretended to believe, that under this trifling mode of speech, the arming of the conspirators was intended. As such it was laid before and accepted by the States.

These were the four heads of the accusation with their proofs. Each State, except the clergy headed by the Archbishop, Laurentius Petri, accepted them and condemned the accused generally as traitors to King and country. This they did in 1567 to please King Erik. After his deposition in 1569, they cancelled the sentence to please King John, and excused themselves by saying that they had been forced to sign the sentence without having read it. A lame excuse! The protest of the clergy is still extant; they say, "that the matter had been presented before them, but it was not their province to pronounce a judgment. They hoped that the nobles would proceed in it according to their duty as honest, Christian, and upright men, and as they would one day answer for it before God, &c." This proves sufficiently both that the sentence was known, and that the necessity to sign it was not irresistible.

We have now related what is known of this prosecution that the reader may form his own judgment upon

this celebrated and much disputed cause. At this day it would probably be impossible to decide in what degree the Stures were guilty; every account which has descended to us respecting it is palpably partial on the one side or the other. That Erik never was or deserved to be loved by them is pretty sure, as well as that the younger among them may have envied his throne; but thoughts of rebellion were hardly entertained by them before the disgrace put upon Nils Sture in 1566. This injustice, added to the increasing capriciousness of Erik's conduct may probably have given rise to such thoughts. The only proofs which can now be brought against them are: first, that the honest and respectable Åke Bengtsson Färila said openly during their trial, that if none other were found, he would be Nil Sture's executioner; and secondly, that Nils Sture, on his journey to Lotringen, wrote to his mother that he would not accept the testimony which the soldiers offered to bear to his bravery in the battle of Swarterå. "I hope," he wrote, "one day to defend myself otherwise than by letter and by seal." The old Lord Swante was probably innocent; that his sons, after the year 1566, did think of rebellion, though yet without any fixed plan, may be credited; that they were accused on false or on no grounds is certain.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE MURDER OF THE STURES.

JACOB HÄSTSKO came once to the Castle during the course of this trial, and said to the King regarding it: "Gracious Sir! only proceed carefully and you will lawfully have Nils Sture's head between his feet; for a traitor he is and that is certain. But permit no one, whether high or low, to excite your Majesty, for your

enemies desire nothing better than violence." The King answered: "I am like a snake in an ant-hill in the midst of that pack; but I must take care they do not make mince meat of me."

Göran and his friends who were determined on the ruin of the Lords, afterwards prevented all men of sense and consideration from speaking to the King, dreading that his anger might be checked, and the accused saved. The mind of this unfortunate monarch, meanwhile, was tossed to and fro; sometimes tormented by suspicion almost to madness, then moved by remorse and compassion to acquit the accused. On the 22nd of May, he wrote to Swante Sture, saying, "that he was convinced of his innocence, that the enemies of both had plotted this misunderstanding between them; but that Erik would be certain to have him righted." Karin Mänsdotter was likewise permitted to console the Lady Martha with hopes of a happy termination of the affair. Great was the joy of Count Swante and his lady, but it was not of long continuance; Göran Persson and suspicion resumed their power, and the prisoners remained as before.

The 24th of May was the unhappy day both for Erik and the Stures. The King had dressed in a Spanish dress of black velvet, a mantle on his shoulders, a sword at his side, and a black cap with stiff black feathers in it on his head. He was in the forenoon to make reconciliation with the Lords. About dinner-time he first entered the cell of Sten Lejonhufwud, threw himself on his knees before him, and begged him to forgive his unjust imprisonment and ill-treatment. Herr Sten alarmed, fell himself on his knees, praying the King for pardon. They then arose, and both went to visit Swante Sture. Here the same scene was repeated. Erik asked and obtained forgiveness for this

unmerited imprisonment, and to confirm their reconciliation, he asked one of Count Swante's daughters in marriage. Sture answered that himself, his daughter, and all that he possessed, belonged to his King. They were about to go out ; but Erik turned in the doorway, saying : " Yet you will never forgive the Herr Nil's disgrace." And Göran Persson arrived the same instant, saying : " Good, my Lord, there is a party out here who certainly do not wish well to your Majesty." " Who is it?" cried the King, and rushed forth. Upon this Swante Sture was shut in again, and Sten Lejonhufwud sent back to his cell. The King had been informed by some persons unknown, that Duke John had escaped from his prison, and had commenced an insurrection : on which soldiers were instantly despatched to take him dead or alive. Petrus Caroli soon after arrived, with whom the King took a walk ; the subject of their discourse is known to no one. Master Petrus afterwards affirmed that it had been a religious conversation ; but at all events when Erik returned to the Castle, he was seen to be highly excited. He pulled his cap deep over his brows, and walked so fast that the body-guard who accompanied him were near squeezing each other to death in the gateway. He hastened to Nils Sture's prison.

Lejonhufwud's room was next to that of Nils Sture, and divided only by so thin a partition that all that was done or said in the one room was heard in the other. He related that shortly before the King's arrival, Nils had sung a psalm, and afterwards laid himself down on his bed reading a prayer-book ; while he was lying thus the King entered with a drawn dagger in his hand, exclaiming : " Art thou here still, thou traitor !" Herr Nils sprang from the bed, threw himself on his knees, and said : " Most gracious King, I am no traitor but

have faithfully served and risked my life for your Majesty." But the King answered by striking him with his dagger through the arm. Nils drew it out, wiped off the blood, kissed the handle, and returned it to the King, saying: "Good, my Lord, spare me; I have not deserved displeasure." Erik cried: "Hear how that villain can supplicate for himself!" Per Willjamson, one of the guards, now rushed forward, saying: "Thou art a traitor for all that, and therefore take this!" and struck his halberd into one of his eyes. Sture fell on the floor and said imploringly: "Gracious King, spare my life!" but Erik said: "Hear! the traitor yet speaks!" on which Willjamson completed the murder by seven wounds through the body.

Scarce was this done, and Erik out of the place, than he was seized with remorse and reproach of conscience. He rushed to Swante Sture's prison, threw himself on his knees, and said: "Dear friend! we pray you, for God's sake, be pleased to forgive us the evil we have done towards you." At this piteous sight Sture wept bitterly, saying: "Most gracious King, if my son has not suffered damage to his life I will forgive your Majesty with all my heart; but has his blood been shed, you must answer to me for it before God." "Ah!" said Erik leaping up, "you will never forgive us, therefore you must share his fate!" Thereupon he rushed out, ordered the watch to have especial care of the prisoners, and hurried out of the Castle on the way to Flötsound, followed only by a few of his guard. He no longer knew what he was doing.

Göran and his party now thought that matters were in a fair way of proceeding according to their desires; they had only to frighten or seduce Erik further, and they would be sure of getting him to order the execution of the imprisoned nobles. Krister Persson urged

that as Nils Sture was murdered, which the others would be certain never to forgive, they should likewise be made away with ; but Dionysius Beurheus, terrified at these bloody intentions, and in alarm for the King himself, hurried out to the country after him. He found Erik in a field west of the village of Alsike, where he reminded him of his royal dignity, and begged him not to run about the country in that manner, but to return to Upsala. Erik refused. Beurheus on his knees implored him, and likewise entreated that he would not, through haste, order the nobles in the Castle to be killed, as he had heard was intended. Instead of an answer, Erik struck at him with his sword ; but Beurheus avoided the blow. "Tame that rogue for me," cried Erik to his guard. Beurheus then turned and fled for his life ; but Per Willjamson sprang after him, soon overtook him, and cut off the calf of one of the fugitive's legs, upon which Beurheus turned and begged for his life ; but Willjamson answered by blows of his halberd which brought him dead to the ground. His body lay three days in the field covered with fir branches, and was then conveyed to Ekerö Church and buried. A spring gushes out near the spot where he was murdered, and called in memory of him Dionysius' Well.

After this murder the King sent an order to the Castle, "that all the prisoners should be executed with the exception of Herr Sten." After which he dived deeper into the woods and wildernesses, and no one knew what had become of him.

Peter Gadd was Governor of the Castle of Upsala, and when the order for the execution of the prisoners was brought to him, he went to Göran Persson and asked his advice. Göran, who was sitting playing at cards, answered laconically : "I neither know, nor

wish to know anything about the matter: advise yourself." On which Peter Gadd summoned the soldiers, and demanded: "Whether they would maintain their allegiance to King Erik?" they replied affirmatively. He asked them further, "if they knew the sentence that had been passed on the imprisoned nobles?" which they did not. Peter Gadd rejoined, "I know it, however, and know that it affects the lives of those gentlemen. The King will not have them carried to the scaffold on account of their wives, but has ordered me to kill them here, and you must assist me unless you would fall under the King's displeasure." The soldiers dared not refuse, and accordingly proceeded to Count Swante's prison; first putting away their side weapons, lest he might seize one of them and defend himself. They opened the door, and one of the soldiers pretending to be intoxicated reeled up and struck against him. Swante only said mildly, "My friend, if you have drunk your ale, go and take your rest," upon which the man turned and said to his neighbour, "I cannot do it." "If you can't, I can," said another, and ordered Sture's servant to leave the room. As the man was slow in obeying, they pushed him with such violence that his face and nose knocked against the door, and were covered with blood. When Sture saw this, he changed colour as he said: "Why do you beat my servant?" "Worse awaits yourself," replied the soldier. "What brings you here?" then said Sture, "his Majesty has this day granted me grace and favour, surely I may be left in peace in my prison?" Gadd then spoke and said, "There is little peace for you. Commend your soul to God; for we are bidden to take your life." "Act then like honourable and Christian men," replied Sture, "and let me first confess and receive absolution." "It is too late,"

answered Gadd, "we can get no priest." "Then I commend my soul into God's hands," said Sture, "my body is given into those of men." As he spoke, one of the soldiers struck him with a halberd on the shoulder, and he exclaimed, "God be merciful to me! You, poor man, struck wrong." He fell down on his bed, wrapped the sheet about him, and pointed to his heart that the murderers might strike right. Several now rushed forward and despatched him.

Thence they went to Abraham Stenbock whom they also murdered in his prison; and in his clothes was found the certificate which Göran had given him when he was forced to sign the forged letter to Joshua Genewitz. Erik Sture and Ivar Ivarson were led out to get a better lodging, as it was said, but were conducted to a room on the lower story of the south side and there attacked by the murderers. A quantity of wood was lying in the room with which these two nobles defended themselves long and valiantly. Two of the soldiers were killed before Erik and Ivar, covered with blood, fell dead to the ground. The bodies of the other murdered nobles were carried down into this room, and lay there fourteen days without the slightest attention being paid them.

Sten Lejonhufwud and Sten Banér escaped, because Peter Gadd did not know which the King meant when he said that "Herr Sten" was to be spared.

The Castle gates were kept closed for several days after this, so that the town remained in ignorance of what had happened. It was during this time that Göran Persson persuaded the States to sign the sentence, intending to make the already committed murder lawful. Countess Sture, and other relatives of the prisoners, continued daily to send food and wearing apparel up to the Castle; which Peter Gadd and his soldiers kept for themselves, and lived in drinking and riot.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

KING ERIK'S MADNESS.

Nothing was heard of Erik for a couple of days. The soldiers of his guard who had accompanied him returned one after the other to Upsala, after he had escaped from them. Göran Persson now became anxious, and sent to seek him in every direction. He was found at last in the parish of Odensala in peasant's clothes, and quite out of his mind. When they addressed him as King, and wanted to bring him back to Upsala, he exclaimed, "Nils Sture is Administrator of Sweden." Sometimes he lamented, saying, "Like Nero, I have killed my tutor." The wretchedness of his condition was increased by his having neither eaten nor slept for several days; and it was now impossible to persuade him to do either. He feared poison in his food, and assassination during sleep. At last Karin Mänsdotter came to him and persuaded him to take some refreshment, after which he slept. He awoke more composed, but likewise more unhappy: for he was now overwhelmed with remorse for his crime, and terror for its consequences. He caused his chest of gold to be brought to him from Upsala, from which he made liberal presents to those about him, and then journeyed back to the town.

There all was in confusion. Some were arriving, some leaving the Diet, there was neither rule nor order. When Erik returned he threw himself into the arms of the nobility, and sought to conciliate the relatives of his victims. The funeral obsequies were performed with great magnificence, and it was proclaimed by order of the King, that no one was to speak ill of the deceased. The relations on their side published a letter in which they declared themselves

entirely reconciled to the King, and promised him the faith and allegiance of dutiful subjects as in times past. Hogonskild Bjelke took on himself to be mediator in this matter. Great sums of money were distributed; the Lady Martha received one thousand marks of pure silver, Sten Lejonhufwud one thousand gulden, and the rest in proportion to their degree of relationship to the victims.

Göran Persson and his party had supposed that by this massacre they would become heirs of the power and property of their victims, but they were deceived. The King had conceived an abhorrence of his former advisers, and when the nobles demanded that Göran should be brought to trial, gave his immediate consent; and Persson was accordingly brought before a tribunal of forty-eight nobles, and accused of many and hideous crimes. He was said to have made away with more than one hundred and twenty persons, whose names were all given, either without trial, or notwithstanding an acquittal. The greater number of these had been secretly murdered in their prisons or drowned at night; while their property Göran had for the most part appropriated to himself. The partiality and vindictiveness of his judges may probably have exaggerated somewhat, but so much smoke does not rise without some fire. This indictment is a fearful proof of the lawlessness with which Göran had acted. He and his brother Krister were condemned to loss of life and property, but the fulfilment of the sentence was delayed until the King being restored to health could confirm it.

Erik meanwhile passed his days at Swartsjö, almost as in a prison, for it was feared he might injure himself or others. His mind was tortured by remorse for the past, suspicion of the present, and fear for the

future. We will give the following extracts from his journal at this time.

12th of August. We set out for Swartsjö.

18th. I wrote directions to the Senators to deliberate on the articles which have been sent to Duke John regarding his release.

25th. They tormented me with wet sheets.

27th. The Duke of Saxony insisted on his marriage very unsuitably.

29th. Two captains arrived who gave information that troops were waiting in East Gothland.

30th. At this time they gave me sour bread.

1st of September. Some soldiers from Småland said that treason was abroad, but would not reveal in what manner.

2nd. Letters arrived from the Landgrave. He spoke in parables concerning my sister's dowery and the treaty with Lotringen.

3rd. During these days they incited my wife to dispute with me. They likewise tormented me with wet sheets.

4th. Blasius, the trumpeter, was sent to me. He spoke very darkly and in parables, so that I could not understand him.

6th. At this time they incited the pages to worry me.

7th. The Senators asked me to resume the Government. Göran Persson declared with many oaths that they were in earnest.

8th. I wrote to my brother that if he were King, he might let me know it, for I would willingly show him all obedience. And so on.

A letter from Erik to John at this period is still extant, which exhibits a strange mixture of sense and madness. It runs thus :

“ We are sorely grieved and troubled, and dare not undertake any thing lest we should come into greater mischief, for as far as we know we are abandoned by all men, and in greater affliction than if we were in prison; neither do we well know the cause of this our ruin. It is therefore difficult for us to deliver you, for we have ourselves no authority. If so be that your dearness knows who has the rule here in Sweden, or if God has so ordained that your dearness rules over us and the kingdom, we humbly beg that your dearness will forgive us all the unfriendliness with which we ourselves or our servants, at the instigation of the Devil, and evil men may have angered you; but God knows that in this, much has been done without our knowledge or will. Therefore if even others should desire our life and blood, we pray you for Christ's sake, that you will not permit it; but of a brotherly and Christian heart forgive us, surpassing us rather in virtue and mildness, than in hatred and wrath; which will make your Government happy and praiseworthy, both before God and men. We ask nothing but permission to remain in the kingdom, promising to be the most faithful of your subjects; but can this not be, and must we depart, when we promise never to undertake anything against your dearness, and the heirs of your body. If this be not granted to us, we demand an honourable imprisonment for ourselves, our wife and children. This in our want and distress we have not sought to conceal. God graciously preserve from all evil your dearness and all around you.”

Swartsjö. August 26th, 1567.”

CHAPTER XXIX.

LIBERATION OF DUKE JOHN.

JOHN'S numerous and powerful relatives seized this opportunity to obtain his release ; Erik depressed by remorse and madness was easily persuaded to give his consent. The conditions were drawn out, the principal of these being a general mutual forgiveness, from which, however, Duke John wished to except Göran Persson, Henry Horn, and Herman Fleming, but was only permitted to except the first. The Duke promised Erik the faith and allegiance of a subject according to the contract of Arboga, as well as to recognize his sons by Karin Mänsdotter as the heirs of the throne. As soon as this agreement was finished, John's prison was opened and he removed with his wife and child to Wentholm, not far from Swartsjö. The 8th of October was appointed for the meeting of the brothers. John, with his wife, son, and brothers, came by water to Swartsjö ; they had scarcely landed at the bridge before Erik and his suite met them in the gateway. He threw himself on his knees before John, calling him his Lord and Sovereign. John also knelt, replying that Erik was King ; but himself a poor prisoner, who implored the royal mercy. Thus they continued on their knees opposite to each other, till their step-mother, Katrina Stenbock, came up and begged them to rise, and not to make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of all present. The brothers obeyed and proceeded together into the Castle, but they were neither long nor happy together. Erik anxious and melancholy, recommenced begging pardon of his sister-in-law and little nephew Sigismund for their imprisonment, and in so doing again fell on his knees. The Princess raised him, and sought by words and even caresses to calm him, but in vain ; he

left the room. John fearing lest his brother's remorse should turn to fury, and thinking it therefore most advisable to retire, soon returned to Wentholm. The reconciliation was completed in writing, on the conditions already named, though Erik in the consciousness of his misery offered to resign the Government. After this Duke John retired and lived chiefly at Arboga, or Eskilstuna. Erik at Swartsjö or Stockholm; and thus ended the year 1567. In his Diary, Erik has written above the date: "The most unfortunate year for King Erik."

CHAPTER XXX.

WAR WITH DENMARK.

IN the summer of 1567, the Swedish fleet sailed out under the command of Peter Bagge, a relation of the renowned James, but no enemy was to be seen upon the Baltic; the united fleets of Denmark and Lübeck had been destroyed by Bagge, Horn, and the storms of the preceding year. The remains were chiefly laid up in port, and the Swedes alone were Lords of the Baltic.

Sweden had several times during this war invaded Norway with some success; and the Northmen weary of these cruptions on the frontiers, and of the Government of Denmark, were not averse to a union with Sweden. Erik was informed of this state of feeling, and in the commencement of 1567 despatched thither some troops under Johan Siggesson. He had great successes the whole spring, but it was at this time that the King's calamity occurred; Denmark sent to succour Norway, Johan Siggesson received no assistance from Sweden and was obliged to retire. Had Erik had a better commander, and given him better support, it is

likely that Norway would at that time have been annexed to the crown of Sweden.

In Daniel Rantzow, King Fredrick had a brave and able commander, but he had no army. He had not, like Erik, his father's treasury to apply to, consequently his means of defence were crippled, besides which the devastations of the plague were not yet at an end. Affairs looked thus favourably for Sweden, when the murder of the Stures was followed by the King's insanity.

As everything in Sweden was in complete disorder, Fredrick resolved to profit by this, and equipped an army with which Daniel Rantzow invaded Sweden on the 1st of November. He marched victoriously through the heart of the land, burning many of the towns; and at last established his head-quarters in the centre of the rich corn-fields of Skeninge.

Erik had now his kingdom to defend, but he was loath to send his soldiers from him, for fear of their being seduced into rebellion. He had beside no choice of commanders. He dared not entrust the army to his brothers, they might use it to depose him; the nobles were open to the same suspicion. Per Brahe and Hogenskild Bjelke were at last appointed captains of the troops, but even these were neither of them skilful commanders. They encamped at Kungs-Norrby, thinking themselves in perfect safety on the north of the Mortala River, but they were mistaken. Rantzow had discovered a ford not far from Norrby. On the 15th of January, 1568, he crossed the river and attacked the Swedish camp precisely at day-break; the camp was ill-fortified and worse guarded. The Danes soon broke into it, and the Swedes, without even attempting resistance, took to flight, both men and officers. They were unable in their hurry to find their boots and

shoes, and started barefoot in the snow, but finding this presently too cold, some of them took off their thick unfingered leather gloves, drew these on their feet, and then ran as far as their strength and mittens could carry them. Rantzow captured one hundred and fifty prisoners, seven field pieces, the camp treasure, and all the baggage.

It was indeed no easy task to be one of Erik's generals. His suspicions were so great, that he wrote to his secret friends in the army not to obey any orders but those which he himself had signed. For the same purpose he sent spies, who disguised as peasants sold provisions in the camp, and while so doing took opportunity secretly to inform the soldiers that they were not to allow themselves to be led anywhere until the King himself arrived. This caused discontent and uneasiness in the main body, which remained in consequence inactive. Meanwhile the peasants assembled in Småland and the south of East Gothland, and piled up huge barricades to hinder the return of the Danes, while the King sent down several officers with troops, who were to lend their assistance. When Rantzow found himself thus shut in, he sent to request reinforcements from Denmark, but these were on their way attacked and cut in pieces by the Småland peasants. The whole extent of country which separated Rantzow from Denmark was carefully guarded, so that it was impossible for him to despatch or receive a single messenger. His circumstances appeared desperate. and in Copenhagen it was already reported that his army was destroyed, and himself a prisoner.

At this juncture King Erik took heart, and determined to head the attack against Rantzow in person. To do so with more effect, he appointed as rendezvous for the whole army, Stora Malm in Södermanland

where even the very troops which lay south of Rantzow, and shut him in, were ordered to join. They were forced to obey, and Rantzow was free. On the 24th of January, in the middle of the night, he broke up his camp at Skeninge; Erik pursued, but marched so slow that he was unable to impede his progress. Rantzow, however, was almost retaken. On arriving at Holweden, he found barriers erected which it was impossible to pass. Almost in despair, he turned into the champagne country of East Gothland; but a sharp frost came on the same night which froze Lake Sämnen, across which Rantzow marched, and thus escaped the first ambush. When he reached Småland, his rear-guard was attacked near Eksjö by Henry von Minden, who had some Småland soldiers and four hundred peasants with him. The Danes were not able to escape this second peril without great loss and making a long detour. The battle took place on the shore of the Red Lake: the Danish chaplain in his sermon afterwards said that, "they had now at last got over the Red Sea, but the river Jordan yet remained to pass." The third ambuscade was laid at Flishult, where a strong force under Hogenskild Bjelke and Sten Banér lay assembled. But these gentlemen did not manage this time any better than before. Rantzow surprised them early one morning; without attempting any resistance both leaders rushed into the wood, Bjelke with a sword, Banér with a gun in his hand. A single Danish foot soldier pursued them, and to him they surrendered themselves prisoners. Many persons thinking it impossible to believe them to be so cowardly, affirm that it was through treachery they permitted themselves to be taken. Treachery or cowardice, which ever it might be, their men had to pay for it. They were taken prisoners, and thus victorious over every diffi-

culty, Rantzow made his way back to Denmark. He had certainly suffered much, but the loss he had occasioned to Sweden was incomparably greater. He was received in the most flattering manner by King Fredrick.

Rantzow having made good his escape, King Erik with his army made their appearance. Meeting with no enemy, he fell upon Skåne and ravaged the country; but the spring coming on, and the roads getting bad, he soon returned.

CHAPTER XXXI.

KING ERIK'S OBDURACY.

ON this expedition Erik had regained his health and courage. He now no longer regretted the crimes he had committed, but on the contrary was ashamed of the remorse he had felt for them. On his return to Stockholm, his first business was to acquit Göran Persson on the plea "that he had been accused and condemned by the same persons." His impeachment had even touched Erik himself, and therefore could not be admitted." He caused proclamation to be made by a herald that Göran Persson was an honourable and innocent man, whereas the Lords murdered in Upsala had been traitors deserving death. He also gave orders to Sture's relations to restore the fines he had imposed on himself; and to the peasants of Odensala to return the gold and silver which he in his illness had distributed amongst them. To his brother he wrote saying that their reconciliation was null, as it had taken place during his temporary loss of reason, and the Duke had now to declare whether he would keep to the Swedish or Polish party. Finally he issued orders that a general thanksgiving should be offered up

throughout the kingdom for the recovery of his health. With his health Erik had regained his former cruelty. It had happened that previous to his acquittal, Göran Persson had joined the King in camp. One day while he and another secretary named Martin Helsing were alone with the King in his tent, they heard a cannon fired off at no great distance. "Ah," sighed the King, "if that ball had but gone through that faithless Redbeard!" meaning Duke John. "Far be such a misfortune from your Majesty's brother," replied Martin Helsing; "may the ball rather pierce Göran Persson who is again plotting discord." At these words Erik started up in a fury, and seized a poker with which he ran Helsing through, who died of the wound some time after. The King then repented of his passion, but too late.

Ivan of Russia had not forgotten the contemptuous trick which the Poles had played him during his courtship. The object of his ambition was to get the Duchess Catherine into his power; he therefore demanded her of Erik, who anxious to preserve his friendship was weak enough to consent. He intended in case of necessity to carry the sentence of death against his brother into execution, and afterwards send Catherine to Russia. This promise was solemnly made in 1566, and in 1568 a considerable Russian fleet arrived insisting on its fulfilment. Erik was thrown into the greatest embarrassment; if he had even desired it, he could not now keep his promise, for John and Catherine were both free. He sought to persuade the Russians to desist from their unreasonable request; he even confessed his promise to have been rash and unchristian; but they were not to be moved. Erik proposed his daughter Virginia instead, as wife for the Grand Duke's son, but the proposition was contemptuously rejected.

We shall see afterwards how he was relieved from this difficulty.

CHAPTER XXII.

CORONATION OF QUEEN CATHERINE.

ERIK'S devotion to Karin Mänsdotter had gone on increasing. Failing of success in his foreign courtships, he asked and obtained permission of the States to marry whom he pleased, at home or abroad. After this he privately married Karin, and the Dukes and the Senate were obliged to acknowledge her children as heirs to the crown. In the spring of 1568, she gave birth to a son, who was called Gustaf, and whose baptism was celebrated with great solemnity; Per Brahe and Sten Lejonhufvud were obliged to be godfathers, Catherine and her family were elevated to the rank of nobility, and allowed to bear a half moon on their shield.

After his last expedition, Erik determined upon a public celebration of his marriage with Catherine, and likewise to have her crowned Queen. To heighten the solemnity, the marriage of the Princess Sophia with Duke Magnus of Saxony was fixed for the same time. The day appointed was the 10th of July. The chief families of the country were invited to the coronation; none dared refuse, all promised to be present, even the Dukes, but as the time approached, they neither came nor sent excuses. Erik however cared nought for this; on the day appointed, the marriages were celebrated by Archbishop Laurentius Petri. The bride was conducted by Per Brahe; three knights carried the crown, ball, and sceptre before her; four others held over her a gold canopy, under which two Senators led the two natural children, thus declaring their legitimacy. On the day following, Catherine's coronation took place in the principal church with all magnificence and the usual ceremonies. Three knights were to be made at

the conclusion of the ceremony. Åke Bengtsson Färila, and two peasants from Medelpad, the Queen's uncles. Herr Åke relished neither the occasion, nor the company, and begged to be excused. Erik however insisted, and he dared no longer refuse; so it was done. At the solemn banquet which followed the coronation, it happened that Nils Gyllenstjerna who held the crown, fainted from fatigue and let it fall on the floor. The people murmured that it was a bad omen for her who had been crowned that day.

There needed no omen to bode Erik's fall. The sharp sighted had long thought it like'y; 'ter the murder of the Sture's certain; after the coronation of his mistress inevitable.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE DUKE'S REBELLION.

THE same uncertainty exists respecting the commencement of the Duke's rebellion as respecting the criminality of the Stures. Their discontent with Erik was of old date, which time and circumstances had increased; there was however neither plan made, nor leader found; the Stures were dead. Duke Charles too young, and the rest not of sufficient importance. When John was liberated, the malcontents turned their eyes to him, but even he did not at first venture to act.

Erik however suspected him. Pontus de la Gardie, the French prisoner taken at the capture of Warberg, had entered the Swedish service, and by his prudence, courage, and ability, had risen to great favour, and this man Erik now sent to John with orders to discover and report the Duke's intentions. Göran Persson and Herman Fleming advised Erik against this measure,

warning him not to trust to Pontus de la Gardie, but in vain.

At the time when de la Gardie joined John, there was as yet no resolution formed regarding Erik's deposition. He possessed great shrewdness, and foresaw that Erik would, and perhaps ought to fall; and appears to have been the first who ventured openly to propose his dethronement. The proposition was not ill received, and the whole scheme was made out with the assistance of de la Gardie; arms were provided, partisans recruited, among these last Duke Charles and the majority of the higher nobility.

Immediately after Erik's marriage, the Dukes collected their people in Eskilstuna and rode down to East Gothland; their plan being to take Wadstena. This was happily accomplished by Duke Charles, who surprised the Castle while the garrison were at breakfast. John, in his joy, embraced the messenger who brought him this news and hastened thither. He arrived on the 13th of July, at the same time with a number of his partisans. Sten Eriksson Lejonhufwud, and Ture Bjelke first, then Gustaf and Erik Stenbock, Gustaf Banér, Axel Bjelke, George Gyllenstjerna, even the unfortunate Martha Lejonhufwud, led by grief and thirst for vengeance. The first troops that joined the Dukes were three hundred of the German cavalry, whom John had caused to be punished for cowardice at the battle of Swarterå. The conspirators had summoned the burghers and people to meet them on a given day at Wadstena, when John presented himself before them in the Castle yard, and spoke of the unhappy condition of the country, so unlike what it had been eight years before. The treasury then full, now empty; peace then, and now war on every hand; then public and private prosperity, now the kingdom impoverished, land and

towns plundered, the inhabitants ruined, houseless, maimed, either in prison or oppressed. "It is hard," he said, "to accuse one's King and brother; to see the ruin of one's country, worse." "His own sufferings," John said, "he would forgive, those even of his country he would bear as long as possible, but could do so no longer. The innocent blood of subjects called for revenge, reconciliations were vain. Erik himself had made and broken them, not once only but repeatedly; none could trust him, none need expect better Government from him who took counsel of low-born, and lower-minded persons. None in or out of the country could respect him, who in his mother's place upon the throne of Sweden had placed a base-born concubine. Moved by these considerations," he added, "the Dukes had resolved to displace him from the throne. The kingdom might then regain its former peace and well-being. Erik had spread a report that John had been persuaded by his wife to embrace the Roman persuasion. It was a base lie. If John had ever embraced popery, he wished that both he and his son might be expelled from the kingdom of Sweden."

John was tall, handsome, and eloquent, but these advantages were not requisite; the assembled multitude, almost all of them Erik's bitter enemies, shouted assent to every word he spoke, and promised the Dukes their assistance.

They agreed among themselves that if they succeeded in subduing Erik, they should rule the country together. This compact was made under an old oak near Wadstena; and as a token both Dukes gathered some oak leaves, which they fastened in their caps, as did their followers. This became the sign of their agreement; in summer they wore fresh leaves, in winter leaves embroidered in silk.

They now prepared everything with the greatest diligence. Ambassadors were sent who demanded and obtained peace with Denmark and Poland. Money was collected. The Dukes gave their plate, as did the confederate nobles ; besides which loans were obtained from the Church and the rich. All the jewels of the mad Duke Magnus were taken from him. The greatest assistance, however, was given by Martha Lejonhufwud, who lent large sums of ready money, several field pieces, and a quantity of ammunition, and lastly, the price of Nils Sture's blood ; that is to say, the thousand marks of silver which Erik had paid her as a fine. Klippings* were coined of this silver with the names of the Dukes within an oaken garland ; and with this money the war between the brothers was to be carried on. They were to be called "Wadstena Klippings ;" the people named them the "Blood Klippings." As pledge for this loan, Countess Sture received some estates from John which were afterwards recalled, and it is certain that this unfortunate money was never repaid either to her or her heirs.

The Dukes' people marched through the country accompanied by a woman who believed, or wished to persuade others to believe, that she was possessed by a spirit of divination. Wherever she came, she foretold "Ruin on that godless Achab, King Erik ; but grace and blessings on the Dukes who delivered oppressed Israel." Some permitted themselves to be persuaded by her words, others by the Dukes' soldiers, the greater number by their own discontent ; for Erik was far from being loved in the lately devastated East Gothland. The whole country declared for the brothers, and Stegeborg opened its gates of its own accord to Duke Charles, who afterwards marched up northwards to Södermanland.

* A square coin.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CONTINUATION OF THE REBELLION.

THE joys of Erik's bridal were of short continuance. On the fourth day a report reached Stockholm that the Dukes had left Eskilstuna and probably escaped to Denmark. Erik sent orders to the frontiers to take them dead or alive; some days after it was heard that they had gained possession of Wadstena, and commenced an insurrection. Erik sent a message, at the same time proposing reconciliation to the Dukes, also several ruffians richly bribed to assassinate them, together with injunctions to the Governors of his Castles to good faith and watchfulness; and lastly Åke Färila, to prevent defection among the royal troops in East Gothland.

To his conciliatory offers the Dukes answered that no reconciliation was possible, for neither his word, nor even his vows or promises were to be trusted. The assassins retained the money, and permitted the Dukes to retain their lives. Åke Färila arrived too late; the soldiers had already revolted, and he himself escaped but with difficulty. The injunctions to the Governors were also of no avail. Leckö surrendered to the Dukes' commanders; Nyköping to Charles himself. Erik in a fury of despair then sent a challenge to his brother summoning him to single combat, which Charles refused.

Nyköping had been the scene of the fraternal discords of the Folkungar; there the same feuds were repeated in the Wasa dynasty. When Erik found it impossible to gain his brothers, he advanced against them towards that town. Charles was in possession of the Castle. Erik burnt the town; some days after they confronted each other with equal forces, but without

coming to a battle. Erik then intrusted the command to Ivar Stjernkors and returned to Stockholm. Charles received reinforcements, attacked Stjernkors, first on the Swartz meadow, and again by Hölöwood. The King's people took the road towards Stockholm, and the Dukes' followed them. On the news of this, Erik collected his people and hastened out against the enemy; at Bot Church he met their vanguard conducted by Pontus de la Gardie. A sharp contest ensued; Erik chose his position, and displayed much military skill, encouraging his people both by word and example. His white feather was always seen in the thickest of the fight, and many of the Dukes' men-at-arms were pitched by him from the saddle. At length the Dukes' party were forced to fly; Erik pursued, and fortified himself on the narrow isthmus between Lake Born and Aspen, whence he could easily repel the whole force of his adversaries.

The Dukes now resolved to attack Stockholm from the north. They marched round Lake Mälär, took Gripsholm, Örebro, Westerås, and Upsala, whence by Upland they descended towards the capital. At the Court, meanwhile, matters were hanging in the greatest doubt and anxiety. Some advised Erik to fly into Livonia and defend himself there; but he was not willing to lay down his sceptre so lightly. Russia offered ten thousand auxiliaries which Erik refused. Meanwhile a report was set afloat, that he had determined to send the Queen Dowager and his sisters to Russia, that he might thus force his brothers to make better conditions. The ladies were terrified, as was Duke Magnus of Saxony, who foresaw Erik's fall and determined to fly. The Queen Dowager and the Princesses were one day out on a party of pleasure on Lake Mälär; they landed at a place before agreed on where

the Duke of Saxony with ninety horsemen awaited them, whence they proceeded with all speed to join the Dukes who by this time had advanced half-way between Upsala and Stockholm. Others likewise abandoned Erik's sinking fortunes. Klas Fleming went over during an attack on Gripsholm. Ivar Stjernkors was sent by Erik to retain Finland, but hardly was he arrived at the Castle of Åbo than he summoned the people in the Dukes' name. Several others did the same. The betrayed monarch caused a rope to be stretched across the market-place, and hung upon it all letters containing vows of allegiance and devotion to his service which he had received from the now rebellious Dukes and nobles. He walked beside it, and pointing to the open papers and the large seals depending from them, said to the burghers, "You may now judge whether my suspicions were groundless or not."

On the 17th of September news arrived that the rebel troops drew near the town, and Erik and Göran Persson ascended the tower called the Three Crowns to see if such were the case. They had scarcely mounted, ere they plainly distinguished, first the banners and then troops as they advanced along the Rörstrand meadow. At sight of this, the King and his favourite remained silent a long while. At last Göran said, "My Lord, if you had followed my advice, and laid Duke John's head between his feet as soon as his sentence had passed, this would not have happened." "Thou sayest true," replied the King.

The Dukes' army had arrived as far as Brunkeberg, when the King made a brisk sally upon them. He headed his men himself, and fought with desperate courage. In the height of his fury he sought to come to single combat with his brother John; who was not,

however, in the fight. He then singled out De la Gardie, against whom he was highly incensed, and who had the command of the opposing forces which he headed both well and bravely; but was obliged to give way before Erik's wild valour, and retreat from Brunkeberg to Rörstrand. Here he fortified himself; and Erik returned to the town.

CHAPTER XXXV.

DEATH OF GÖRAN PERSSON.

THE hatred of the Dukes and nobles to Göran Persson was equal. They threatened to storm Stockholm, and would consent to listen to no terms till he was delivered up to them. The citizens, who dreaded the pillage of their town, urged the same; the more eagerly that they themselves greatly detested him. So did the Dalmen who formed the Castle guard. The wretched man fled to the King as his only protector; Erik might desire, but had no power to help him. The fury of the people was not to be allayed, and Erik at last yielded; granting permission to the Dalmen to seek for and deliver up his former favourite.

Göran resisted; but they used such violence that his clothes were torn in the struggle. When he heard that it was by Erik's order he was to be given up, he exclaimed, "I should sooner have expected the Heavens to fall, than Erik to abandon me! Behold my end, and learn to seek the favour of God more than that of Kings!" He was not allowed to say more, his mouth was gagged, and with his equally detested mother he was led out of the northern gate, and delivered into the hands of the Dukes' party.

He was immediately put to the torture, and confessed many things respecting Erik's Government, even

to the plan of assassinating the Dukes. They tried to compel him to say that the King had intended to murder them at Karin Månsdotter's coronation, that he proposed to send his step-mother and sisters to Russia, and that he was still minded to give up Duke John's wife to Ivar; but Göran constantly denied all this, though sorely tortured at two different times. What he had confessed, together with his former trial, seemed evidence sufficient; and he was condemned to a lingering and ignominious death. His ears were cut off and nailed to a post, together with his patent of nobility, afterwards he was hung but taken down alive, slowly broken on the wheel, beheaded, and impaled; all of which took place in Brunkeberg, so that Erik could see it from the Castle windows. The same death was intended for his mother, but as she was brought out she threw herself intentionally from her horse, and broke her neck. Her dead body was struck through with a stake, and buried in the nearest marsh.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

KING ERIK IS TAKEN PRISONER.

ERIK was resolved to defend himself to the utmost. Andrew Rålamb, the commander of the garrison, had renewed his oath of allegiance to him as had the burghers, and the Archbishop who was in the town exhorted all to constancy. Thus the siege continued for a week; the cannons from the Three Crowns and Brunkeberg thundered at each other, and Erik made several sallies by sea and land but without success. During this time the people were informed that one Castle after another in the provinces had submitted to the Dukes; the kingdom was theirs. Stockholm alone

defended the forsaken, detested, and to crown all half-frenzied monarch. Messengers also came from the Dukes with assurances that the burghers should be free from all punishment, and retain their privileges if they would readily submit. This made them waver. The Dukes at the same time offered terms to the King, to whom they proposed to leave Åland and Borgo for his life, if he would resign all pretensions to the crown for himself and his children. The burghers advised him to accept the terms, and so did the Archbishop and his most ardent partisans, all perceived that otherwise he was totally ruined ; but Erik persisted in refusing. His intention was to bury fifty thousand ducats and a quantity of silver in some secret place, then to disappear, and when opportunity offered employ this money in raising soldiers and defending himself.

Every one began now to take his own safety into consideration, for to rescue Erik appeared impossible. They inquired of the Archbishop, who replied that they might now abandon the King with a safe conscience. Two Senators, Nils Gyllenstjerna and Bengt Gylta received directions from the King to go to the Dukes and obtain more favourable conditions. Before they went, they held a secret consultation with Andrew Ralamby, in which it was determined that on the following morning the town should be delivered up. The South gate was to be opened at the time when the King was at morning service in the High Church, when the Dukes' people might march in, surprise and take him before he should succeed in reaching the Castle, and of this plan Gyllenstjerna and Gylta were to inform the Dukes. On the afternoon of the 28th, both these gentlemen left the town ; during the night a number of soldiers were passed over in boats to Langholm. Duke Charles wanted to be of this party, but

Sten Lejonhufwud, who coveted the distinction of taking the King prisoner, pressed on so fast that Charles came too late. At eight the next morning, Rålamb and his men opened the South gate, and the united troops led by him, Sten Lejonhufwud and Pontus de la Gardie hurried up to the High Church. And there, indeed, sat King Erik listening to the sermon and suspecting no evil; but some faithful subject took compassion on him and hastily informed him of the impending danger. He hastened out with his guard, but the enemy already filled the square. Erik ran to reach the Castle gate • before them, but Sten Lejonhufwud on horseback easily overtook him, and presenting his pistol at him commanded him to surrender or his life should answer for it. Erik lowered his sword, stretched out his hand and said; "I am your prisoner, Herr Sten," but as he spoke a soldier of the guard ran Herr Sten through the body, who fell from his horse and died shortly after. The King thus liberated perceiving De la Gardie, rushed upon him and wounded him in the arm; Andrew Rålamb was also wounded, and the enemy being thus checked, Erik and his guard were enabled to make their way into the Castle and shut the gates upon themselves.

The King turned to the Dalmen in the court, reminding them of the fidelity they had shown in the hour of need to the old King Gustaf, begging them now to lend the same assistance to his son. They promised, and Erik proceeded to make preparations for further defence. Per Brahe meanwhile arrived and began treating with the Dalmen who manned the walls, and who showed no disinclination to deliver up the Castle. One of his guard brought news of this to Erik, now occupied in the armoury. His determination then was to throw himself with his body guard into the Tower of the Three Crowns and there defend himself, and

rather blow it up than be taken prisoner. At this juncture a messenger arrived informing him that Duke Charles was without desiring to speak with him. Erik changed his mind and proceeded to the walls, where he saw Charles in full armour, and also in high displeasure at the death of his uncle, Sten Lejonhufwud. Erik said he was ignorant of that matter, and offered to give up the soldier who had wounded Herr Sten.* They entered into negotiation, Erik demanding Swartsjö and Färing's Island together with mild treatment. The contest was severe, all blamed and none defended Erik, save his physician Lemnius, who begged them "to have compassion on the King's infirmity." He was obliged to resign the kingdom on the assurance of an honourable imprisonment. During this time, the Dalmen had yielded up the Castle to Per Brahe. When the conversation was over, Erik was placed in safe keeping in his former apartments, afterwards in Herr Eskil's now empty hall. This took place on the same day and hour upon which his father, King Gustaf, had died eight years before. The Duke's soldiers, in the meantime, took on themselves to plunder the houses of Göran Persson and some of his party. Being hindered by no one, they continued to do so throughout the day, and even attacked that of the Russian Ambassador. When Duke Charles heard of this, perceiving to what mischief it might give rise, he hastened to the spot and commanded the soldiers to refrain, but as they would not obey, he rushed in and laid about him with his sword, letting some feel the flat and some the edge of it till he had emptied the house of them. In this manner he restored peace and quiet in the town before evening.

* This man who had faithfully defended his lawful sovereign who now abandoned him, was afterwards condemned by the Duke to undergo a lingering death.

During the whole of this campaign Duke Charles had marched in advance with the soldiery, taken the Castle, beaten the King's troops, and at last taken the King himself prisoner. Duke John, surrounded by the confederate nobles, had followed; and during that time secretly gained their promise that he alone should be their King, precisely contrary to the engagements entered into at Wadstena. Charles saw and understood these preparations. John's treachery was what angered him most; he had not power sufficient to insist upon his own share of the kingdom and Government; perhaps, indeed, not the will to do so. Such a division would have been highly disadvantageous to the country, and he therefore consented that John should be sole Sovereign, in return for which he was obliged to promise Charles that he should retain his Duchy according to their father's will, without the restrictions on his power which Erik had introduced by the Decree of Arboga. When this was settled, the day after the capture of Erik, John made his solemn entry into Stockholm, was proclaimed King, and received the homage of the Duke Charles, the Senate, and the citizens.

Thus ended Erik's reign. We have given what we have found respecting it in old documents. It is not improbable but that part of the evil related of him is invented; for Erik made few friends, but many and violent enemies. These came to power after him and have written his history.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ERIK'S IMPRISONMENT.

IN the commencement of his imprisonment, Erik wrote several times to John and his consort reminding him how their conditions had changed, and that they ought not now to return evil for evil, but take compassion on an unhappy brother. He sometimes asked for Färing Ö which had been promised to him; sometimes for permission to go abroad, engaging not to undertake anything against John. He offered to go to Poland to John's brother-in-law; that John might feel confident of his good faith. But he never could bring himself to address his brother as King, but only Crown-Prince or Administrator, and John rejected his petitions. His confinement became more strict. He attempted to saw through the iron grating of his apartment with a bit of glass, but was discovered. Solitary and unoccupied, he undertook to note down different heads of his own defence. Some of them yet remain, from among which we quote the following :

"Judgment ought not to contradict judgment, and by the same persons. The Estates of the kingdom once adjudged me right against Duke John; therefore the Estates of the kingdom have no right to abrogate that judgment."

"He who strengthens my enemies shows me enmity. Duke John has strengthened my enemies by money; therefore, he has shown me enmity."

"The King should not tolerate what may injure the kingdom. John asked the Finns to swear him allegiance to the diminution of the kingdom. I was at the head of the Government of Sweden; therefore I could not tolerate this."

“He who flies with the King’s banner has broken the King’s peace; therefore, Nils Sture was worthy of death.”

But no one heeded Erik’s reasoning. In January, 1569, the States were summoned to depose him formally. John needed to have assigned but one reason for this, namely, Erik’s frequent derangement of mind : a reason sufficiently clear and demonstrable ; but his bitterness against Erik was too great to be satisfied with this. Manifold lies, one more unreasonable than another, were circulated throughout the kingdom ; for instance, that in 1568 : “Erik had, for the second time, promised the Duchess Catherine to the Czar ; that he had plotted at his marriage to murder his brothers and the nobility ; that, as they did not come, he wanted to murder the Duke of Saxony, charge the deed upon the nobles, and afterwards take their lives ; that he intended to plunder and burn Stockholm during the uproar, to burn his step-mother and sisters, or send them to Russia ; that his own commands were snares to entangle the simple ; that he had sought the Danish war for no purpose but to torment the Swedes ; that he had expressly arranged that the Swedes should be beaten ; that he had, with his own hand, murdered or maimed sixty persons ; that he had feigned insanity in order to indulge his fury with the greater impunity,” and so on. All this is to be found in the definitive sentence of the States, and is related by John in letters to foreign courts, though both he and the greater part of the States knew it to be entirely false.

Erik appeared upon his trial before the States in the High Church on the 9th of January, 1569. He defended himself with power and energy, and his speech appeared to work upon his auditors, when John inter-

rupted him, saying: "But you, you know, are quite out of your mind." "I was once out of my mind," replied Erik, "and that was when I released you from imprisonment." The examination ended here. Erik was deposed, and sentenced to a perpetual but princely captivity.

He was first confined in the Castle of Stockholm, but a conspiracy was soon discovered in his favour in which Nils Silversparre and the Bagges were concerned; and he was, therefore, the same year, removed to Åbo. Meanwhile, Ivan of Russia had not forgotten his old amity for Erik, and enmity to John, and showed signs of an intention to deliver him by summary means. John, therefore, removed him in 1571 from Åbo to Kastelholm; but not thinking him even there sufficiently secure from Ivan's possible intentions, he in a few months had him removed to Gripsholm, then in 1573 to Westerås, and lastly in 1574 to Örbyhus. All this time his keepers were his old enemies, and his treatment was proportionably bad. Among these Olof Stenbock distinguished himself by his ferocity. He was Erik's keeper while he was in the Castle of Stockholm, where he used to take from him his clothes that he might be tormented with cold. This gave rise to a dispute in which Stenbock gave Erik a blow, which he returned with such violence that Stenbock fell back against the door, and the strife was continued by blows and tearing each other's hair. At last, Stenbock, beside himself, seized a gun and fired it at Erik, who had barely time to bend aside; the ball pierced his arm, and he fell to the ground bathed in blood. Stenbock rushed out, and left him lying for several hours without help. A short imprisonment was the only punishment which John awarded him for this cruelty. Erik's other gaolers

were gentler, but still harsh. Ture Bjelke wrote to Åbo for iron and copper that he might make chains for Erik. In Westerås he wore upon his feet an enormously heavy iron shackle, which is still shown there. John encouraged them in severity. "That bird," he said, "ought to be well watched, lest he should break from his cage." His rooms were everywhere ill-provided, worst of all however at Gripsholm. The floor was of roughly hewn planks, not sawn, still less, planed; the walls coarsely plastered. The room was surrounded by a passage through which a sentry kept his constant walk; but there was one little window through which Erik could cast his eyes upon the neighbouring landscape, and the holes worn in the brick by his elbows were to be seen long afterwards. As his prison, so was the treatment he experienced by no means princely; on the contrary, it was dishonourable to John and his advisers. Erik loved music and reading, but his books and instruments were taken from him, even the Bible, even pen and ink. We have letters of his written with a peg and charcoal ground with water. He was not permitted to attend sermon for several months. His food was bad, attendance equally so, and medical assistance oft-times wanting.

Erik wrote repeatedly to John upon this subject. "I can never believe," he said, "that so much cruelty is by a brother's orders. No day passes without a new misery. If ever so guilty, it seems to me a royal body is sufficiently punished. I, therefore, entreat my brother in the name of all that touches him nearest to let me know what is required of me. I promise all that is not at variance with God's word, my honour, and the welfare of my children. The world is wide enough. Hatred betwixt relatives may be appeased by distance,

if not already cooled by lapse of years." He sometimes succeeded in getting relief; at one time his books and instruments were restored to him, at another they were taken away, according as the officer was minded who commanded the guard.

His greatest consolation was when his wife and children were permitted to visit him in his prison, which was sometimes granted at his earnest entreaty. When they left him, he fell into the deepest melancholy. Their last visit took place at Westerås, when they occupied the room beneath Erik's. They were removed without his being informed of it, and he long continued to call several times daily from the window, and speak to his Karin. As he received no answer he broke out into bitter complaints, either of John's cruelty, or of her infidelity, according as his suspicions happened to turn. From time to time he wrote long letters to her, containing sometimes assurances of his love, sometimes exhortations respecting the education of their children; but always serious warnings against infidelity in marriage.

Beside these letters he employed himself in composing music, and remarks on the books which he read. Sometimes his sorrow found vent in Psalmody. Nos. 180 and 373 in the Swedish psalm-book are composed by him.*

* The latter is one of the most simply touching, and heartfelt confessions of contrition and faith in God ever penned. It tells forcibly the whole history of the royal prisoner's altered heart and fortunes; it speaks from the heart, to the heart and has been appointed in Sweden, one of the Penitentiary psalms sung at the execution of criminals. The music also by the unfortunate Erik is worthy of the words, and both make us forget his many crimes in the bitterness of his punishment, and the humility of his repentance.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

DEATH OF CHARLES DE MORNAY.

AFTER Erik's deposition, Mornay entered into the service of King John, and rose high in his favour. He could not, however, forget his former master and benefactor, nor hear with indifference of the hard and inhuman treatment to which he was subjected. The resolution to depose John and deliver Erik gradually ripened in his mind. He was sent over to England to muster auxiliaries, when it is said that Elizabeth, touched with compassion for her former lover, encouraged Mornay. However that may be, he returned to Stockholm in 1573 with five thousand Scots, commanded by Archibald Ratvin (probably Ruthven), Gilbert Balfour, and Cunningham. These and several other Scotchmen, De Mornay had induced to enter into a conspiracy against King John, which was joined by many malcontents throughout the country. The plan was to be executed in the following manner: The Scotch sword-dance was at that time much talked of. Mornay excited John's curiosity regarding it, and it was determined that this dance should be performed one night at the Castle for the King's entertainment. Mornay and the other conspirators then agreed that he was himself to take part in the dance, and the rest were to keep their eyes fixed upon him; when he closed his vizor, they were each to do the same, and then make a simultaneous rush upon those noblemen who were known to be inimical to Erik. Mornay took on himself to murder the King; on this, another body of conspirators was to hasten to Gripsholm and set Erik at liberty. Such was the plan: it was not executed.* John pro-

* According to another account, it really was executed in part,

bably suspected some treachery and caused the sword-dance to be countermanded, on which the whole project of insurrection died away.

Cunningham, one of the conspirators, married and settled in Sweden, and rose high in the estimation of John, who conferred numerous benefits upon him. Touched by this he disclosed the plot, and Mornay and the others were brought to trial. They steadfastly denied the charge, and Cunningham being unable to bring any conclusive proofs against them, they exacted in return that he who by false witness had attempted the lives of so many honest men, should himself be punished with death. John wished to hush up the whole matter and begged hard for Cunningham, but Mornay and the Scots called loudly for his death. John gave way, and he was beheaded.

This, however, did not decrease John's suspicions of Mornay and the Scotch mercenaries. In order to get rid of them, he sent them to Livonia. Shortly after Cunningham's death, it happened that these Scots suffered a considerable defeat. The remainder were driven to despair; their displeasure turned against Mornay first, and they declared that he had withheld their pay, and afterwards openly reproached him with the conspiracy against John of which they had alike been guilty. This was immediately repeated in Stockholm; some of them fled the country, but the bold De Mornay travelled to Duke Charles in Nyköping, declared himself • innocent, and demanded protection, which he found, although John claimed him. At last, the fame of his conspiracy and the proofs of it became too palpable, that

and de Mornay was several times on the point of giving the sign and dealing the intended blow, but was prevented each time by an inward shudder.

Charles had him arrested and put in prison. Mornay succeeded in breaking away and fled. Charles sent out in pursuit of him in every direction by sea and land. He was seized and brought back to the Duke, from whom he encountered sharp reproaches for his conduct. He was then sent to the King, convicted, and with his former confederates beheaded on the 4th of September, 1574.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

KING ERIK'S DEATH.

JOHN's continual fear was that Erik would regain his freedom and the crown. He, therefore, in 1569 assembled the Senate, the Archbishop, and several Bishops, and proposed to them the following question: "If the welfare of the kingdom did not require in case of any insurrection breaking out that Erik should be killed in his prison? He had sufficiently merited death by his many crimes, and was only spared on account of his royal dignity." To this all gave consent save Johan Bjelke, and the resolution was signed and sealed.

Meanwhile one plot after another was discovered for Erik's liberation, and at length Mornay's plan of assassination. Added to this, Erik's conduct in confinement was disquieting. Notwithstanding his lamentable letters, he was not inclined to humble himself in reality. He never gave John the royal title, and persisted in using it for himself. At Gripsholm he received letters from his partisans regarding their project, his answers to which began with these words: "We, Erik, by the Grace of God, King of Sweden, the Goths and Vandals, together with other their dependencies," &c. He used also harsh and threatening words, and showed a

stiff and revengeful temper. The Senate and Bishops were therefore summoned a second time in 1575, and the former determination against his life was confirmed to which Johan Bjelke this time likewise agreed. Both these resolves were, however, kept secret, and were not communicated to Duke Charles.

It was at this time that King John began to labour for the re-introduction of Roman Catholicism. This procured him many enemies, who naturally cast their eyes on the imprisoned Erik, who had ever been averse to Popery. The people in general felt compassion for a Prince now so long confined; his cruel treatment increased their commiseration, and still more the comparison they made between his treatment of John in a similar condition. This displeasure was particularly felt among the lower ranks; they murmured at the privileges which the nobility had now acquired. This did not escape John's notice, and threw him into great anxiety and distress. Love of rule, fear of his own downfall, hatred to Erik, these all urged him to command his death; but his heart recoiled from the idea of fratricide. Ambition, however, gained the victory, and he determined upon Erik's death, though there was no sign of insurrection. His own valet, Philip Kern, mixed the poison. The murder was to be accomplished by John Henrikson, his secretary, a man worthy of the commission. He had murdered a man of the name of Johan Kempe, and afterwards married the widow, a crime for which he received absolution from the Jesuits. He died at last of excessive drinking.

In the month of February, 1577, this man arrived at Örbyhouse, and showed the Governor of the place the death-warrant upon which he was to act. It set forth that Erik was to take a draught of opium or mercury,

sufficient to put an end to his life in three hours. If he would not agree to this, they were to place him in a chair, open the veins of his hands and feet, and let him bleed to death. If he would not quietly submit to this, and they found it impossible to accomplish it by force, he was to be stifled in his bed with bolsters. But in either case, he was to be permitted to make his confession and receive the Holy Communion. To the faithful subjects and servants who accomplished this, John promised his royal favour and protection. The warrant is signed with John's own hand.

No force was requisite. Erik saw resistance vain and chose the poison. He made his confession on the 24th of February, partook of the Communion, behaved with reverence, and answered well all questions put to him, except when he was desired to forgive his former enemies, to which he would not consent. On the 25th of February, he took the poison mixed in pea-soup. The consequences were soon visible, and he fell into dreadful pain. When death was approaching, the priest asked him again if he now from his heart forgave his enemies. "Yes," answered Erik, "with all my heart." The priest then read some texts from Scripture which Erik repeated till he was speechless. An hour after he died. It was two o'clock in the morning of the 26th of February, 1577, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

An express was despatched to John with the news. On the 1st of March, he caused Erik's death to be announced from the pulpits of Stockholm, adding that he had died of long illness. This was confirmed by the allegations of the Governor of Örbyhouse and Erik's Chaplain, copies of which were forwarded with the other notifications.

· When these papers reached Duke Charles, he was highly displeased, neither did he conceal it. He wrote to John who at this time was labouring to the best of his ability with the Roman Catholic religion, and using both violent and unjust measures for its re-introduction in the following manner :

“God in our brother’s person has set us who survive, both an example and a warning not to undertake anything against His heavenly will and commandments. Happy is he who becomes wise through the misfortunes of another.” Further : “ though we on our side entertain no suspicion but that our brother has departed by a proper and natural death, we fear, notwithstanding, that many, both at home and abroad, will think otherwise ; namely, that his days have been shortened at the instigation of wicked men. According to our idea, it had therefore been well and advisable for the good name and fame of your Majesty, our own and others, if at the time when our brother’s illness began to increase some men of consideration, both in and out of the Senate, had been sent to Örbý and witnessed every circumstance of his death-bed. But as this has not been done we will let that opinion pass. We expect, however, certainly that your Majesty will permit his dead body to receive an honourable funeral, such as is suitable to his degree. Before this take place we wish your Majesty would inform us of it.”

John replied to this : “That he would certainly have sent Senators to attend Erik’s sickness had he been informed of it in time,” which agreed ill with what he had before said concerning Erik’s lingering illness. Of the funeral, he wrote “that it had already taken place in Westerås, which resting-place could not be

accounted too humble for Erik, when so many other King's repose in meaner places, Alvastra, Wreta, and Warnhem for instance. That Erik had not been buried at Upsala, and with such solemnities as his late father was, on account of the great difference there had been both in his life and government. John, however, hoped he had so ordered Erik's obsequies as to be irreproachable in the sight of all those who had witnessed them."

The funeral had not been otherwise honoured than that a number of nobles, priests, and students followed the body from Örby to Westerås, where it was displayed for general view that every one might convince himself that the corpse was really that of King Erik. The burial took place on the 13th of March. All the clergy of the diocese were called to attend it. Bishop Erasmus preached the funeral sermon. Philip Kern, the same who had prepared the poison, prepared his last abode. The body was wrapped in black velvet; the coffin lined inside with common silk, was made of rough fir planks, a cross with the initials E. R. and a crown above were marked in gold lace on the flat lid. It was put into a low and mean vault on the south side of the church, which was afterwards walled up. A plate was fastened over it with this inscription in Latin: "The kingdom is turned about and become my brother's, for it was his from the Lord."—1. King. Chap. 11. v. 15.

Duke Charles was but little pleased with all this. He wrote to John, saying: "We are informed that King Erik's body has been placed in a small room and enclosed in unplanned planks, and so forth. According to our opinion our brother's body might have received more befitting burial. Was he not our brother? Of royal descent, himself a crowned and anointed King,

who with all the evil which he, God forgive him, happened to commit, yet did much that was good and manly during his reign? Though he, sorrowful to remember, was both your Majesty's enemy and our own, still we think for our own part that all enmity ought to be fully forgiven when once the soul is parted from the body. There is no credit in persecuting a dead body in its grave. Not that it injures the dead, but they who survive take note of it and derive occasion to calumniate and speak ill of the relatives. We wished to prevent this, had we previously been consulted according to our desire. But since that was not done we ought before God and all mankind to be excused in this matter as we hope we already are. Our opinion now is that King Erik ought to have another and more suitable burial either in Upsala or in the Grey Friar's Church in Stockholm which may still be done. In case your Majesty should not be inclined to venture any expense upon it, we, according to our means, will willingly give our assistance."

This letter was not well received by John, but he had nothing to say in reply. Charles's proposal, however, for a new burial was rejected, and Erik was left to occupy his narrow vault for two hundred years longer, until a later King distributed equal honours between the brothers, as we shall relate at King John's funeral.

CHAPTER XL.

OF GUSTAF ERIKSON THE YOUNGER. .

ERIK had by Karin Månsdotter a son who had, as we have already seen, been recognized as heir to the crown. In the beginning of Erik's imprisonment, John did not entertain any great apprehension of the child,

then scarce a twelvemonth old; he was permitted to accompany his mother and sometimes visit *his father* in prison, but in proportion as the attempts at revolt became more frequent, so did John's dread of both his brother and his nephew increase. On the discovery of De Mornay's conspiracy, John determined to have the child secretly made away with. One of the royal valets received the orders. Gustaf who was now six years old was sent for to Court, and early one morning was taken by this servant, stuffed into a bag and carried to the southern suburb of the city to be there thrown into the sea. But on the way they were met by a gentleman of the Sparre family who asked what was in the bag. The man's answers being confused and stammering, Sparre forced him to take it off his shoulders, opened it, found and recognized the helpless little Prince. Suspecting the real truth, he was filled with indignation and compassion. He drove the man back to the town with threats and blows, took the child with him into the country, concealed him there, and afterwards sent him abroad. John was obliged to remain silent, and only rejoice if Sparre was so likewise.

Gustaf was educated by the Jesuits, who hoped perhaps by his means at some future period to re-introduce Romanism into Sweden. At first he lived entirely at their expense, but after the place of his retreat was known, his mother and sisters sent him pecuniary supplies. These however did not always reach him, and then he was reduced to the utmost want. While he attended the lectures during the day-time, he went to the inns and hostelries at night, brushing clothes and performing other menial services for the travellers gaining his livelihood in this way. Meanwhile he made immense progress in his studies. Independant of

Swedish, he spoke Italian, French, German, Polish, Russian, and Latin. He was a skilful chemist, and had imbibed his father's taste for learning. In other respects he was a modest and good natured youth, but very tender and soft-hearted. When Sigismund, as King of Poland, came to Kracow, Gustaf wandered thither disguised as a beggar to witness the coronation. His own sister Sigrid was in Sigismund's train; she saw her brother amidst a crowd of beggars, and was moved by his appearance though she was not aware who he was. He made himself secretly known to her, gained access to his sister, when with tears they communicated to each other the events of their lives. He received assistance from her which carried him to Germany, where he acquired so much proficiency in learning that he was known by the name of the second Paracelsus.

When John III began to relapse from the Roman Catholic faith, the papists and Erik's old friends set a plan on foot to expel him from the throne. It was to be done with French assistance, and Gustaf was to be King of Sweden, tributary to France. The plot failed from its very commencement, but had notwithstanding been reported to John with some jokes of Gustaf's concerning him. This enraged him to such a degree that he sought to deprive his nephew of all support. "The feathers of such a bird," said he, "should not be permitted to grow too long." He desired his son Sigismund, then King of Poland, for further security to shut up Gustaf in prison; but Sigismund left the unfortunate youth liberty at least.

John died. Gustaf and his mother then demanded leave to come to Sweden and remain there. Both Charles and Sigismund, who now were striving for the

crown, feared a third antagonist and *refused*. *Mother and son next craved permission to meet, either in Finland or in Revel*; but Klas Fleming, who governed for Sigismund in Finland, threatened that if Gustaf set his foot across the frontier, he should be carried prisoner to Åbo. Then Catherine crossed to Revel, and then with tears embraced her son for the first time after a lapse of two-and-twenty years. They were soon obliged to part again, and this time for ever. Catherine returned to Finland:—Gustaf to Poland.

He had received some money from his mother, but it was soon exhausted and he fell again into great distress. He was in possession of a number of important documents relative to his father's reign, all which he pledged for money. King Erik's journal for the years 1566 and 67, in his own hand-writing, he mortgaged to pay his expenses at an hostelry in Wilna. Sigismund finally took compassion upon him, and gave him the revenue of an Abbey, but refused the request which Gustaf made to be allowed to accompany him to Sweden in 1598.

The Czar meanwhile had invited him several times to his Court, and sent at last a regular safe-conduct that Gustaf might come and go without impediment whenever he pleased. On these conditions, Gustaf set out in 1599 for Moscow, where he was received and entertained with royal magnificence. After a time the Czar made him the following proposal, that he should abandon the Roman and enter the Greek Church, on which he should be married to the Czar's daughter, Axinia, and demand Finland and Livonia as his paternal inheritance, in which undertaking he should be supported by a Russian army. Gustaf refused, partly through timidity, and partly through attachment to his creed. When the Czar found he was not to be moved,

his favour turned to hatred and his assistance to persecution. The safe-conduct was purloined, Gustaf himself was loaded with false accusations, and thrown into prison, where he languished many years in misery. Internal dissensions now broke out in Russia. His health had long been injured by his chemical studies; sorrow and imprisonment completed its ruin. He died in Cassin in 1607.* The reigning Czar sent a considerable sum for his funeral expenses. The commandant of the place kept the gold for himself, and made Gustaf's funeral as mean as possible. He was buried in a birch grove without the walls of the town.

CHAPTER XLI.

OF KARIN MÅNEDOTTER.

QUEEN CATHERINE had never intermeddled with Erik's government; if on any occasion she had done so, it was to restrain him from cruelty. Her mildness and disinterestedness were generally known, and the persecutions of her husband consequently did not extend to her. She received a maintenance for herself and her children, though at first but small. As often as she was permitted, she was with Erik in his prison; thus softening his fate, but never bearing any share in the attempts at insurrection. This quiet and virtuous mode of life gained for her increasing favour. In 1577, after Erik's death, she got four hemmans of land in Finland and some silver. In 1578, the right to one hundred days labour. In 1581, the royal estate of Ljuxala, in Satagunda with twenty-six peasant farms. In 1582 again eleven hemmans. John's remorse for his brother's fate showed itself in generosity to the

* Thrice he was liberated, twice captured. At last he received orders to remain in Cassin, a small town in Russia.

widow. Towards the end of his life he thought of her again. In 1590, she received a new addition to her income. Duke Charles also showed her continual good-will.

Thus lived Catherine, esteemed and loved. Two of her children, Henry and Arnold died young. Gustaf was always abroad. Her daughter Sigrid was married first to Henrik Klasson Tott, a judge in Finland, afterwards to Nils Nilson Natt och Dag. Surrounded by her daughter, son-in-law, and their children, Catherine lived to an old age, hidden but happy at the remote but lovely Ljuxala. High forest-covered mountains, wooded hills, smiling fields, and blooming vallies, amid them clear lakes at different elevations, united by winding streams and rushing water-falls, combined to form a paradise round the dwelling of this once fallen but now restored woman. The memory of her virtues and benevolence still lives among the peasantry in the neighbourhood after a lapse of more than two hundred years.

Civil war was meanwhile devastating her country where Sigismund and Charles were struggling for the crown. These bloody feuds extended even to Finland; even to the distant Satagunda. Olof Stenbock, the same who had formerly persecuted Erik, and treated him with such inhumanity in his prison, was then in the neighbourhood as the leader of Sigismund's party. Though above fifty years of age, he still retained his ferocious disposition, and had expressed himself both by word and writing in the most opprobrious terms of Duke Charles. He was now taken prisoner, immediately bound to a tree, pierced through by a volley of shot, and then, like a wild beast, buried in a hole close to the spot. This took place not far from Ljuxala, and Catherine soon heard of the fate of her former enemy.

She quietly despatched some of her servants, had the dead body taken up, laid in a coffin, and gave it a decent burial in consecrated ground.

She died in 1612, and is interred in the vault of the Tott family in the Cathedral of Åbo, where a monument is erected to her memory.

CHRONOLOGY.

- A.D. 1501.—Sten Sture the Elder, Administrator.
- .. 1503.—Death of Sten Sture the Elder.
- .. 1504.—Swante Sture Administrator.
- .. 1509.—Gustaf Wasa came to Upsala.
- .. 1510.—Peace of sixty years concluded with Russia.
- .. 1512.—Death of Swante Sture. Sten Sture the Younger Administrator.
- .. 1514.—Gustaf Trolle Archbishop. Gustaf Wasa at Sture's Court.
- .. 1515.—Gustaf Trolle's return to Sweden.
- .. 1517.—Battle of Dufwenäs. Trolle deposed.
- .. 1518.—Battle of Brännkyrka. Gustaf Wasa carried off to Denmark.
- .. 1520.—Battle of Bogesund. Death of Sten Sture the Younger. Stockholm taken by Christian II. The Blood-bath. Gustaf Wasa's adventures in Dalarna.
- .. 1521.—Gustaf Wasa Administrator.
- .. 1523.—Gustaf Wasa King.
- .. 1524.—Meeting of the Kings in Malmö.
- .. 1525.—The first Rebellion in Dalarna quelled.
- .. 1526.—The New Testament printed in Swedish.
- .. 1527.—Commencement of the Dal Junker's Rebellion. Diet of Westerås.
- .. 1528.—Gustaf crowned. Second Rebellion in Dalarna quelled.
- .. 1529.—Meeting at Orebro. Ture Jönsson's insurrection and flight.

- A.D. 1530.—The Dal Junker hung. Death of Severin Norrby.
- .. 1531.—Bell-war in Dalarna. Gustaf married to Catherine of Lauenburg.
- .. 1532.—Christian the Tyrant taken prisoner.
- .. 1533.—Third insurrection in Dalarna quelled. Death of Fredrick of Denmark. Swante Sture in Lübeck. Birth of Erik XIV (13th of December)
- .. 1534.—The Grefvefejd.
- .. 1535.—Death of Queen Catherine.
- .. 1536.—Gustaf's marriage with Margaret Lejonhufvud.
- .. 1537.—Birth of John III (21st of December.)
- .. 1538.—Death of Brask, Bishop of Linköping.
- .. 1540.—Sweden declared an hereditary kingdom.
- .. 1541.—The whole Bible printed in Swedish.
- .. 1542.—Commencement of the Dacke-Feud.
- .. 1543.—Termination of the same.
- .. 1548.—The Three Crowns introduced into the arms of Denmark.
- .. 1550.—Birth of Charles IX.
- .. 1551.—Death of Queen Margaret (26th of August.)
- .. 1552.—Gustaf married to Catherine Stenbock.
- .. 1554.—War with Russia.
- .. 1557.—Peace concluded with Russia. John made Duke of Finland.
- .. 1558.—Erik appointed to the command of Calmar. Commences his courtship of Queen Elizabeth.
- .. 1559.—Death of Christian III of Denmark. Christian the Tyrant and Christina Gyllenstjerna.
- .. 1560.—Gustaf's Farewell to the States. Erik sets out for England. Illness, death, and burial of Gustavus Wasa. (Died 29th of September.)
- .. 1561.—Diet of Arboga. War in Livonia. Erik's coronation.
- .. 1562.—Marriage of Duke John. War with Poland.
- .. 1563.—War with Denmark. John made prisoner at Abo.
- .. 1564.—Sea fight off Oland. Bagge taken prisoner by the Danes.
- .. 1565.—Horn's sea victories. Warberg taken. Battle of Swarten.
- .. 1566.—Nils Sture's opprobrious procession through Stockholm. Death of Klas Horn. Birth of Sigismund (30th June.)

- A.D. 1567.—The Sture murder. John's liberation. Rantzow's invasion.
- . 1568.—Rantzow's retreat. Coronation of Karin's Mänsdotter. Rebellion of the Dukes at Wadstena. Erik made prisoner (29th September.)
- .. 1569.—Erik tried and condemned by the States. Removed to Abo.
- .. 1571.—Erik removed to Kastelholm—to Gripsholm.
- .. 1573.—Conspiracy of Charles de Mornay in Erik's favour. Erik removed to Westerås.
- .. 1574.—Charles de Mornay beheaded. Erik removed to Orbyhouse.
- .. 1577.—Erik's death (26th February,) and burial (13th March.)

END OF VOL. II.

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